

The J. Paul Getty Museum

JOURNAL Volume 23/1995



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The J. Paul Getty Museum

JOURNAL Volume 23/1995

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Contents

THE	Introduction: The Collections and the Year's Activities	5
J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM	JOHN WALSH	
JOURNAL	Stylistic Associations, Evolution, and Collaboration: Charting the Bute Painter's Career	11
VOLUME 23	ALISON STONES	
1995	Renoir's <i>Portrait of Albert Cahen d'Anvers</i>	31
	KATHLEEN ADLER	
	Leo von Klenze's <i>View of Massa di Carrara:</i> <i>Denkmallandschaft</i> and the Architect as Painter	41
	JENNIFER HELVEY	
	ACQUISITIONS / 1994	
	Notes to the Reader	60
	Antiquities	61
	Decorative Arts	63
	Drawings	65
	Manuscripts	85
	Paintings	91
	Photographs	95
	Sculpture and Works of Art	117
	Trustees and Staff List	123

Introduction:

The Collections and the Year's Activities

The buzzword in 1994 was *transition*. At the Getty Museum, transition means preparing for the move to a new museum and, as soon as the move is accomplished, renovating the present building for the antiquities collection. In calmer days, from 1983 until 1991, we felt we had all the time in the world for planning these activities, which seemed to belong to a remote future. When in 1993 and 1994 the foundations were dug and new walls began to rise, however, and the completion date of the Getty Center was no longer a guess but began to look certain to be 1997, the countdown began in earnest. Lists of tasks became bars on a chart plotted against the months that remain until the opening. The staff has grown in small steps to provide support for this complex exercise of planning and execution, and everyone's pulse rate has risen.

It was an exciting year in more ways than one. Hardly had it begun when a 6.9 earthquake struck on January 17, giving the staff the most realistic full-scale emergency drill yet. Years of precautions by conservators and mountmakers paid off when we discovered that we had sustained negligible damage to the collection. Years of practice allowed the staff to mobilize quickly to deal with the Museum's needs (which were few) and those of the Getty Trust's operations in the high-rise at 401 Wilshire Boulevard in Santa Monica, which were thoroughly disrupted by shaking and by sprinkler water.

The other excitement was caused by a spectacular exhibition, *A Passion for Antiquities: Ancient Art from the Collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman*, and the events related to it. Although the Getty Museum has no space for large loan shows and therefore has not been doing any for the past dozen years, it was worthwhile for the Department of Antiquities to make room for the remarkable private collection of Mr. and Mrs. Fleischman and to stage a series of educational events keyed to it. We undertook the entire project partly for the public's benefit and partly in the name of transition, to train

ourselves for the regular program of loan exhibitions that is to begin in 1998 at the new Getty Center.

There were other excitements, many satisfactions, and a few disappointments in our collecting and other activities for the year. Let me enumerate.

THE COLLECTIONS

Each of the Museum's departments is growing, but at very different rates of speed. From year to year, growth may spurt or virtually stop. This is partly by design: money is allocated annually to the departments in proportion to the contribution we think each is likely to make to the Museum's overall strength, bearing in mind the relative size and scope of the particular department's collection—its maturity, so to speak. And the fluctuations are partly by accident: opportunities cannot be predicted, nor can lulls in supply, nor can the vagaries of foreign export systems. Again in 1994 we saw several departments acquire relatively little, others a great deal, all in a generally discouraging art market in which prices for the best objects, though down from the craziest years of the late eighties, remain high, while the supply remains low.

The DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES made one significant purchase, a Roman statue of a muse that has long been on loan and shown in our galleries in the company of three of her sister muses. All once belonged to a group made in a workshop in the vicinity of Aphrodisias, in present-day Turkey, a major sculpture center for the Roman world. One of the most graceful of the type, it is in a beautiful state, even preserving some of its original paint.

The DEPARTMENT OF DECORATIVE ARTS made just two purchases, both of great importance for the collection. A pair of armchairs, richly carved and in a good state of repair, exemplify an early phase of the Rococo style, thus fitting into a stylistic sequence of chairs in the

collection. More spectacular is a grand canopied *lit à la Polonoise* in the Neoclassical taste that is the only example of its type in a public collection in this country. When the arrangement and design of its silk hangings are re-created from the original models (made in Lyons around 1773), the bed will be the focal point of our growing collection of Neoclassical furniture and decorative arts.

The DEPARTMENT OF DRAWINGS made a major haul in 1994, and in the process the taste and particular preferences of a new curator began to be felt. A half-dozen Italian drawings were bought, adding to this area of particular strength several great rarities: a trecento figure study and a portrait drawing by Previtali. The rest were sheets by leading figures of the later Renaissance.

The department had the unusual opportunity of buying an entire group of twenty-one drawings by most of the major artists of the Golden Age in Spain and some sixteenth-century examples as well. The principal artistic centers of Madrid, Seville, Granada, Cordoba, and Valencia are well covered, and there are drawings made for many different purposes, including a study by de Mena for his sculpture of Queen Isabella in the Cathedral of Granada. And there are fine drawings by such great painters as Murillo and Cano.

Despite a few dozen excellent examples, the collection has for a long time been relatively weak in nineteenth-century drawings. A string of important purchases has begun to change this. A pair of large, spectacular scenes from Roman history by Carle Vernet are masterpieces of Neoclassical refinement applied to subjects that already embody the coming romantic taste for fiery horses and horrific events. Delacroix's tender treatment of a subject from *Lara* by Lord Byron and Samuel Palmer's scene from *The Faerie Queene* by Spenser are fine examples by two of Europe's greatest painters in watercolor; to them was added Manet's luminous watercolor of a bullfight at its most dramatic and horrible moment, "Picador and horse flipped over and belabored by the horns of the bull," in Manet's words.

The DEPARTMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS bought two Italian miniatures, a cycle of illuminated canon tables, and one great manuscript. The full-page miniature from a large liturgical or devotional book by Girolamo da Cremona, one of the major Renaissance illuminators of northern Italy, features a solemn *Pentecost* set in a monumental quattrocento interior. An initial by a Lombard painter of the next generation, the Master B. F., treats the building of Noah's Ark with a fresh and spontaneous spirit. The major purchase of the year was the exceedingly rare, lavishly appointed book of hours from the

circle of the Limbourg brothers. An example of the International style in France during its last flowering, it is the key work of the so-called Spitz Master. Complex in narrative design, the pages are full of compassion and playful humor. Rivaling this book in significance for us was the set of ten canon tables on eight leaves illuminated in 1256 by T'oros Roslin, the greatest artist of medieval Armenia. The leaves come from the Zeyt'un Gospels made for the Catholicos Constantine I. The elaborately detailed, brilliantly colored architecture of the tables reveals a synthesis of artistic traditions of the eastern Mediterranean.

The DEPARTMENT OF PAINTINGS, also under a new curator, acquired a superb small devotional painting by Correggio, the *Head of Christ*. It is composed so as to evoke the cloth of Veronica on which Christ's image was printed, and it is beautifully preserved.

Despite having a strong motive, the Museum has had surprising difficulty finding major works by French eighteenth-century painters that would complement our famous collection of French furniture and decorative arts. In 1994 an extraordinary chance arose to buy the life-size full-length portrait, still in the huge gilt frame made for it, of a wealthy parliamentary official. Executed in pastel by Maurice Quentin de La Tour, the leading master of this popular technique, it is the largest pastel known, and one of the most lively and impressive portraits of the entire era.

The Museum's first painting by Giambattista Tiepolo joined the collection in 1994, the large sketch or model for the now-destroyed ceiling of the Church of the Scalzi in Venice. The subject is the miraculous transport of the Virgin Mary's house to Italy by a mass of angels, foiling the invading Saracens (who look on) and thwarting the heretics (who are thrown down). Tiepolo pictures the legend with his customary nervous energy and pictorial wit.

The year brought many purchases to the DEPARTMENT OF PHOTOGRAPHS, and none was more important than the acquisition of works by living photographers. The Museum generally does not buy work by contemporary photographers but makes exceptions for certain major figures when significant groups of pictures can be had. This was the case with Frederick Sommer, from whom we acquired the artist's own holdings of the best of his life's work, 107 prints. Sommer has lived in Arizona since the 1930s; his tiny output of pictures, strongly marked by surrealist ideas, has long been sought by collectors and was the subject of a remarkable one-man exhibition that opened here at the end of the year. Pictures by several other significant living figures of Ameri-

can photography—Harry Callahan, Helen Levitt, and Edmund Teske—were added to the collection as well.

A group of portraits was added by the Victorian photographer Julia Margaret Cameron, whose work we hold in great strength, together with pictures by other British photographers such as Fenton and Emerson. Several fine works by Carleton E. Watkins, California's leading nineteenth-century photographer, were also acquired.

A group of important photographs by the Russian modernist El Lissitzky, a masterpiece of near-abstractions by the Hungarian-American László Moholy-Nagy, and a group of photographs by the Polish-American Theodore Roszak joined the collection. Added to work by the American "straight photographers" of the 1920s through 1940s, such as Stieglitz and Evans, these purchases have gone a long way to fill in the spottiness in twentieth-century photography that the curator set out to remedy ten years ago.

Finally, the DEPARTMENT OF SCULPTURE AND WORKS OF ART added ten works, mostly Italian and French, that diversify the Museum's still underdeveloped collection. Our considerable strength in Renaissance and Baroque bronzes was increased with the purchase of a pair of fire-dogs made for Fontainebleau, the royal residence of François I, which was a mecca for the leading Italian artists of the 1530s and 1540s; surprising as it seems, these beautiful figures appear to be the only surviving small bronzes from Fontainebleau. A pair of animal groups in bronze by Susini after models by Giambologna were purchased; they look back to an ancient Roman prototype and forward to the nineteenth-century taste for the horrific. A rare bronze *Neptune* attributed to the Nuremberg sculptor Benedikt Wurzelbauer is a hybrid of Italian anatomy and German rhythm and detail.

Single figures by Anguier and Bouchardon broadened the representation of major French sculpture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. An elaborate allegorical family portrait in marble by Chinard and a powerful figure of Alexandre Dumas père intended for a monument both exemplify the expanding expressive potential of portraiture in France.

Three works were purchased that involved the adaptation of older works of art for new purposes. Bernini's life-size *Neptune* fountain was the model for a very fine contemporary bronze reduction. Cavaceppi's marble bust of Caracalla is a copy, proudly signed, of a famous antique portrait of this ruthless emperor. And two mythological groups produced at the great Tuscan porcelain manufactory at Doccia were based on sculptures by G. B. Foggini, the leading Florentine sculptor of the day.

THE YEAR'S ACTIVITIES

With all the attention that has been paid to the new Getty Center rising in Brentwood, and to the new Getty Museum that will be its main public attraction, the future of the present site in Malibu has been overshadowed. It has by no means been forgotten. The intention since the early 1980s has been to convert it to a museum of antiquities; during the past four years, that plan has been enriched by discussions among the directors of all the Getty Trust's programs. Now we intend something more ambitious: to create a place that will not only exhibit antiquities of the classical world to the public but also interpret them in the light of the cultures of other civilizations. Training in archaeological conservation will take place here, and the public will learn something about work in conservation and become more aware of the threats to our worldwide archaeological heritage. A program of interdisciplinary studies dealing with antiquity and archaeology in a broad context will also be based here. The overall theme will be archaeology and comparative culture, and much of the work will be collaborative. The Getty Villa, as it will be called in distinction to the Getty Center, will be the only institution of its kind in America.

In 1994 the program for the Villa was largely completed. It was initiated by Marion True and then evolved through a collaborative process with the other Trust organizations. The search for an architectural firm to undertake the project ended in March, when Machado and Silvetti of Boston were selected; they immediately began to develop a master plan for the site. At year's end they had made impressive progress. The program calls for modifications to the much-loved Museum building better to suit the display of antiquities on both floors, and also for temporary exhibitions, improved public services, and the creation of space for new activities of the Getty Conservation Institute and the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities. A completed master plan is expected in the autumn of 1995, when schematic designs will begin; construction is scheduled to start in 1998, after the new Museum at the Getty Center opens. The reopening of the Getty Villa is planned to launch the new millennium in the year 2000.

Our plans for activities at the Getty Villa and the Getty Center were the backdrop for the beautiful exhibition held in 1994 of the Fleischman collection, which involved every member of the Museum's support staff and was a kind of dress rehearsal for the new program of loan shows that will begin in 1998 at the Getty Center. It was also a showcase for the possibilities of delighting

the lay public at the future Villa with exhibitions and imaginative activities.

At Brentwood, the walls of the new Museum buildings rose ever higher in 1994. By year's end the main-floor walls were poured. Steel for the upper story was in place after some months of delay for reengineering in the aftermath of the January earthquake (which surprised the experts by causing unpredicted damage to steel joints all over the city, resulting in the adoption of even more stringent construction standards). For miles around one could see the profile of buildings outlined by steel skeletons against the sky. On the site, it was finally possible to approach the Museum from the tram plaza at the top of the hill, to imagine the sequence and scale of the galleries, and to experience something of the alternation of indoor and outdoor spaces that is the aim of Richard Meier's design. The design of the gallery interiors proceeded throughout the year, with both Meier and his team and with Thierry Despont, head of a New York firm that is consulting with us on interiors after having designed the suite of twelve galleries for French decorative arts. This was a year of intensive, detailed planning for every aspect of the move in 1997, including the creation of a master plan for the transition, a long and intimidating to-do list.

I doubt that our visitors had any clue about all this backstage activity. The Museum's regular programs flowed on unhindered, and the public responded well to them. Attendance, though hit by the earthquake in January and heavy rains during the winter, got a boost from the Fleischman exhibition and its programs and ended the year a little down from 1993. Temporary exhibitions continued to pull repeat visitors from the Los Angeles region.

Limitations of gallery space have made the curators increasingly ingenious at fitting temporary installations into the galleries. For example, the cleaning by Getty conservators of the greatest Flemish painting on the West Coast, the Rogier van der Weyden *Madonna and Child* at the Huntington Library, gave us the chance to show the picture in a small installation of comparative material developed around it and elegantly shoehorned into the paintings galleries.

A small former office on the upper floor continues to be used for didactic exhibitions in which live facilitators answer questions and perform demonstrations. It is a lab and model for four such spaces planned for the new Museum. A show called *The Making of a Medieval Book* was devised there to complement *Ars et Ingenium* (about which more in a moment) by giving visitors the chance to handle the materials used by scribes and illuminators

and learn how manuscripts were made.

In its own gallery, the Manuscripts department put on a series of four shows during the year. *Harmonies of Heaven and Earth: Musicians and Instruments in Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts* explored a period from which few instruments or documents of performance survive, and where every clue is precious. *Fouquet's Century: Transformations in French Painting, 1415-1530* was the occasion for the reuniting of the three sections of the great Hours of Simon de Varie, one of which is in the Royal Library in The Hague, and for the publication of a new book about the manuscript, one of the finest productions of an important period. *Ars et Ingenium: The Illuminator's Craft and Genius*, already mentioned, treated the inventive and illusion-making powers of the medieval illuminator, exactly what most appeals to today's audiences. Finally, *The International Style: Courtly Art Around the Year 1400* examined the flowering of a style of courtly elegance and vibrant color that swept across Europe and dominated the arts in all media for several generations.

The Drawings department devised four shows to explore its growing collections by taking differing angles of approach. *Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Drawings* was a wide-ranging selection. *Sixteenth-Century Ornamental Designs* was a surprise to anyone who assumed that our relatively small collection is largely made up of studies for paintings, for it consisted of two dozen drawings for stained glass, jewelry, frames, and other elaborately designed ornamental objects. *Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Dutch Drawings* was created from our impressive holding of Dutch Mannerist and "Golden Age" draftsmen. And *Classicism and Neoclassicism in French Drawing, 1600-1860* juxtaposed the severe figural style of Poussin and his contemporaries with the revival of classical ideals a century later, and the poetic landscapes of Claude Lorrain and their Neoclassical and early romantic counterparts.

It was a year of discoveries for visitors to the shows organized by the Department of Photographs. *Palette of Light: Handcrafted Photographs, 1898 to 1914* and *The Heart of the Storm: Northern California Pictorialism* exposed two aspects of the international expansion of the expressive potential of photographs. In the first, four artists (Edward Steichen, Heinrich Kuehn, Alvin Langdon Coburn, and George Seeley) who experimented with methods of printing were seen to create the photographic equivalent of drawings and watercolors. In the second, twenty California artists who also pushed at the boundaries of the medium and achieved painterly and graphic effects were introduced to audiences that know too little about their achievements.

André Kertész: A Centennial Tribute was an exploration of the life work of this remarkable Hungarian-born photographer. Accompanying it was the first in a new series of popular soft-cover books devoted to photographers whose work we hold in particular depth, *In Focus: André Kertész*.

The year ended with *Frederick Sommer: Poetry and Logic*, drawn largely from the material we had purchased earlier from the artist. His surrealist imagery and his unforgettable, stark images of the Arizona desert where he lives made a strong impression on visitors.

The autumn was dominated by *A Passion for Antiquities: Ancient Art from the Collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman*, organized by the Antiquities department in collaboration with the Cleveland Museum of Art. Installed in our beautiful but oddly laid-out ground-floor galleries, the Fleischmans' impressive collection, perhaps the finest group of privately owned Greek and Roman antiquities in existence, looked especially handsome. Lucidly organized around themes having to do with function and content, the show had a logic that helped many lay visitors take away a great deal of knowledge. The show was a real logistical challenge for the Registrar's office, preparators, conservators and mountmakers, photographers, and many others besides. We were delighted with the well-coordinated result. Since the Fleischman collection is rich in material related to the theater, the Museum and UCLA, with help from the Center Theater Group/Mark Taper Forum, produced performances of comedies by Menander and Plautus on a stage specially constructed in the Inner Peristyle Garden, giving audiences a rare chance to experience firsthand the earthy wit of ancient theater.

"Roman Family Days," organized by the Department of Education and Academic Affairs, attracted about 1,700 parents and children on two Sundays during the Fleischman exhibition. These were joyous events that involved making costumes and theatrical masks, storytelling from mythology, game boxes, and, most happily of all, gallery talks for guests by the fourth and fifth graders of Stoner Avenue Elementary School, who had made themselves experts on objects in the show. (The Getty Trust has adopted this school and now has a special supportive relationship with its teachers and students.)

The Getty Museum is used steadily by schools throughout the region, most regularly for class visits. The Department of Education and Academic Affairs offers a three-day basic museum course to teachers, and in 1994 this was followed by an advanced course called "Looking in Depth." There are large numbers of teachers who would introduce art more readily into many

different kinds of classroom activities if they felt more familiar with it; they would also make better use of their class visits to museums. The Getty Museum and its sibling organization the Getty Center for Education in the Arts make special efforts to find and serve such teachers. Several hundred teachers attended various events at the Museum organized for teacher institutes, all focused on the techniques of dealing with works of art and on enriching teachers' background and knowledge.

An after-school tutoring program in critical thinking was developed for six- to twelve-year-olds at St. Joseph's Center in Venice. The program uses works of art as a focus for problem-solving, another area in which museums may have a distinctive contribution to make to public education.

We continued our collaboration in 1994 with the Santa Monica College of Design, Art, and Architecture aimed at giving talented students from nontraditional backgrounds an opportunity to get practical exposure to careers in arts institutions. The same goal motivates our highly successful Trustwide summer internship program, which operated in its second year in 1994. We also work with USC's Neighborhood Academic Initiative program, an inner-city academy that provides six years of intensive extra activity for students who are granted full college scholarships if they graduate. We give the students and their parents in this growing program—now 260 people in all—a day of exposure to museums and the entire range of careers possible in arts organizations.

We were all impressed again in 1994 by the way in which each of the conservation departments manages a heavy regular workload and yet makes so many extracurricular contributions. The paintings conservators not only treated a series of new acquisitions—the Titian *Venus and Adonis* was the year's big unveiling, but the Rubens *Entombment* and the Tiepolo *Miracle of the Holy House of Loreto* are worth special mention—but they also treated works from other collections, notably the Gardner Museum's *Self-Portrait* by Rembrandt.

Members of the Department of Antiquities Conservation worked on sculpture and vases in the collection and made certain that the transport and installation of the Fleischman collection were done safely. They also went on providing their unique expertise to museums that need protection against earthquakes, knowledge that was much in demand after the January quake. The decorative arts and sculpture conservators, who are deeply involved in preparing the Museum's *boiseries* for the new installation in Brentwood, treated a series of newly acquired sculptures and unveiled the spectacular life-size

Spanish statue of Saint Ginés de la Jara, whose polychromy has been beautifully restored. They were also active as lecturers and consultants on specialized topics ranging from computer graphics to pest management.

Thirteen publications appeared in 1994, several of them marking new departures for the Museum. The new *In Focus* monographs began with a book on André Kertész, as I mentioned earlier; for the next few years, further books in this popular series will be devoted to László Moholy-Nagy, Alfred Stieglitz, and Doris Ulmann. *Make Your Own Museum* is not a book at all but a kit for children that lets them assemble museum galleries and then install them using the parts supplied; in the process, they learn something about what museums do. It has sold very well.

The catalogue for *A Passion for Antiquities* is a model of well-presented texts in a beautiful book. Another in our contributions to the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* series appeared, this one devoted to the vases in the Bareiss collection. We also undertook copublication of several specialized titles in the field of classical studies, *Scripta Latina* and volume 1 of the *Lexicon Topographicum*, and published a new edition of Pat Getz-Preziozi's *Early Cycladic Sculpture*. I have already mentioned the beautiful publication of *The Hours of Simon de Varie*, which has reproductions of remarkable fidelity; we also copublished with the British Library another in a series of handbooks for laypeople, *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts: A Guide to*

Technical Terms. A new edition of the popular *Pioneers of Landscape Photography* appeared, as did a handsome book that accompanied related exhibitions here and at the Huntington Library, *Pictorialism in California: Photographs 1900–1940*. We also published the anthology *A Literary Companion to Travel in Greece* and volume 22 of our annual *Journal*. No museum our size produces books in anything like this number and quality.

For the second year the staff assembled on the Ranch House lawn to celebrate anniversaries of service to the Museum. We are accustomed to thinking of ourselves as a young museum with a youthful staff, but we were surprised to discover how many of these youthful people had been here for twenty and twenty-five years.

In November we lost Wade Richards, one of our most admired staff members, to AIDS. Wade had become a nationally known museum educator and then, during his long illness, a leader in the struggle for awareness of AIDS and for fair, humane public policies for those with the disease. He was thirty-one.

The Museum's staff has been meeting increasing demands under conditions of unremitting pressure and very high expectations. There were unprecedented tests in 1994 that the staff passed brilliantly—a good sign for the next few difficult years.

JOHN WALSH
DIRECTOR

Stylistic Associations, Evolution, and Collaboration: Charting the Bute Painter's Career

ALISON STONES

The Bute Psalter, so-called for the modern owner at whose sale the book emerged from obscurity, is a little-known manuscript,¹ which is densely illuminated with 190 historiated initials and borders, and commands enormous interest for its distinctive iconography,² style, and ownership history. Its artist played a pivotal role in a group of some sixty sacred and secular books made for monastic, clerical, and lay patrons living in the French-speaking provinces of eastern Artois, Flanders, and Hainaut in the decades of the 1260s, 1270s, and 1280s. In these books at least seven or eight distinctive painters, almost all anonymous, worked in sequential collaboration to produce several thousand illuminations.³ This huge network of production can be reconstructed by studying the distribution of the work of these different artists; the work of the Bute Psalter's artist can be detected in some eleven of these manuscripts.⁴ They provide the basis for the analysis and reconstruction of the Bute Painter's artistic activity, which are the focus of this article. In this essay I shall show that sometimes he worked alone, as he did in the Bute Psalter; other times, he worked in collaborative situations (at least three), in which his role seems to have evolved from assistant to master.⁵ In the Bute Psalter itself the painter's work is displayed in many more illustrations than in any other book, and it achieves a level of artistic competence that justifies naming him after this manuscript, the only one of his liturgical or devotional products on which he worked without a collaborator. Sometimes his patrons are known; other times, as is the case of the Bute Psalter, the original owner is not known with certainty, but there is a clear indication of the level of wealth that would have been at his or her disposal. In the early fourteenth century a later owner had supplementary prayers and illuminations added at the end of the manuscript, the latter by a high-class painter of the second quarter of the thirteenth century whose style derives from that of the Parisian painter Jean Pucelle; the patron of this section may also shed light on the origins of the Bute Psalter.

The Bute Painter's lively and accomplished style is especially notable for his sense of dramatic expression, movement, and gesture (especially in figs. 5–7, 9, 10, 13, 16, 17), aimed at commanding and directing the attention of the viewer to the activities of the figures represented; his use of frontal faces with flattened-out ears (figs. 18, 19), profiles surrounded with curling locks (figs. 1, 5, 6, 12, 13, 15–20), and dramatic backturned poses (figs. 5, 6, 15, 19), makes his figures instantly recognizable. Most of his illumination takes the form of the historiated initial, often accompanied by a border stretching down the length of the page on the left of the text column (figs. 1, 2, 4–7, 9, 17) and often extending into the bottom margin, ending in leaf buds and gold balls and often an ink-drawn squiggle (figs. 2, 4, 5, 9, 15, 18). Frequently these borders support additional human figures and animals that complement in fascinating ways the subjects represented in the historiated initials (figs. 5–7, 9, 17).⁶ Most of his vernacular books abandon this schema in favor of single-column miniatures with gold fillet frames (figs. 12, 16, 19, 20).⁷ Yet he appears to have been a painter who was capable of altering not only the format of his illumination but also the artistic mode or the qualitative level of his work according to the type of text being illustrated—and no doubt the size of the purse offered in payment.⁸ His liturgical books and the best of his devotional manuscripts show him as a highly sophisticated painter (figs. 1, 2, 4–7, 9, 10, 17), whereas in some of his vernacular books he appears to paint in a style that is almost a caricature of his more elegant manner (figs. 12, 16, 18–20). One could, of course, argue that the vernacular books are by someone else, as the judgment is a stylistic one and therefore, to some degree, subjective. The oeuvre as a whole, however, offers a degree of coherence that justifies an interpretation that allows for a deliberate choice in artistic level. His working circumstances appear to have allowed him to collaborate with other painters who also display a surprising range of artistic skill in an unusually wide range of types of book.

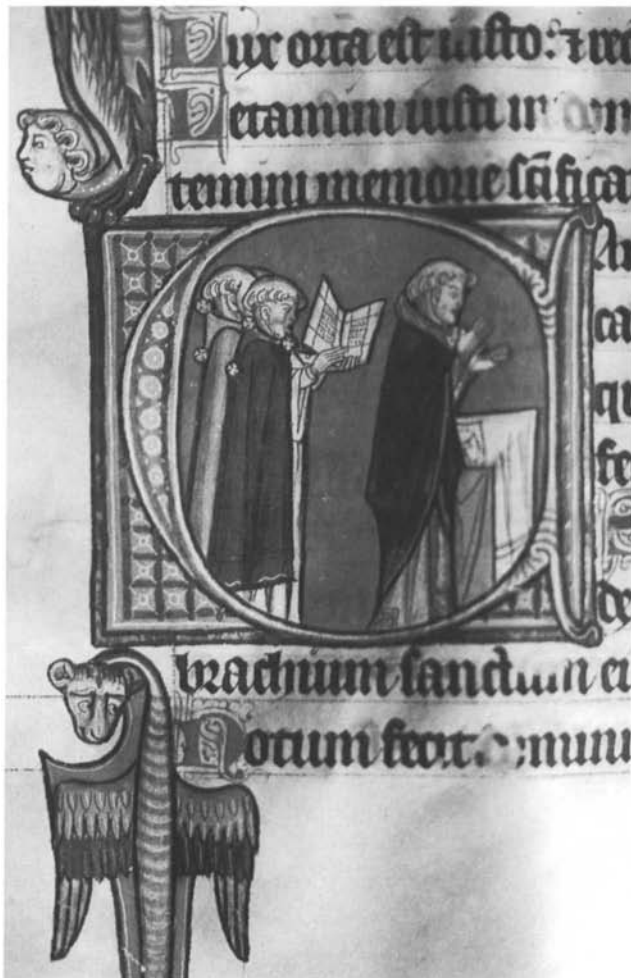


FIGURE 1 The Bute Psalter. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. 46, fol. 138v, Psalm 97. A priest at an altar accompanied by three clerics who sing from a manuscript bifolium.



FIGURE 2 Pontifical of Cambrai. Toledo, Archivo de la Catedral Ms. 56, fol. 161v. Accompanied by four clerics, the bishop reads from a pontifical held by a deacon, the Ordo of Reconciliation; on the altar burn the fires of re consecration. Photo by the author.



FIGURE 3 Pontifical of Cambrai. Toledo, Archivo de la Catedral Ms. 56. 19, fol. 73. At the Mass of Ordination, the bishop says the prayer of consecration at an altar with a veiled chalice, above which hangs a fringed canopy. A deacon holds a flabellum (fan) and a priest raises a consecrated host in his veiled hands. Photo by the author.



FIGURE 4 Pontifical of Cambrai. Toledo, Archivo de la Catedral Ms. 56. 19, fol. 25. The Benedictions for Mass for Easter and for the Monday after Easter: an angel seated on the sepulchre tells the three Maries of the resurrection of Christ; sleeping soldiers in the foreground. Christ walking with the pilgrims of Emmaus; biting dragon border. Photo by the author.

The Bute Painter first emerges in the service of the anonymous masters who were the major painters in a pontifical in Toledo Cathedral Archives (Ms. 56. 19),⁹ identified for use at Cambrai by the inclusion of the Ordo of the Synod of Cambrai, complete with illustration;¹⁰ the book was probably made in conjunction with the Synod of 1277 for Bishop Enguerrand de Créquy (1273–85).¹¹ In this book the Bute Painter plays only a secondary role. The chief artist, whom I here identify as the First Master, painted the (sadly damaged) full-page consecration miniature on folio 100v, where the bishop inscribes the alphabet in Latin and Greek as part of the Consecration of the Church,¹² and the historiated initials on folios 71 and 73 (fig. 3), which illustrate the *Per omnia* and *Tu igitur* of the Canon of the Mass of Ordination, liturgically the most important part of the

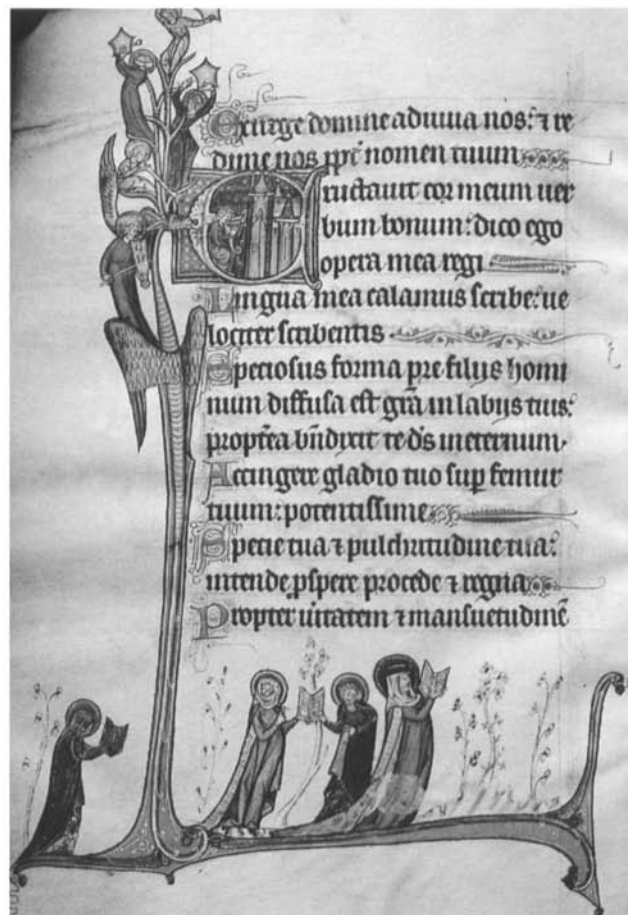


FIGURE 5 The Bute Psalter. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. 46, fol. 61v, Psalm 44. David plays the harp before a castle; musician saints standing on the wings and antlers of a dragon/stag terminal play rebec, trumpet, and timbrels; on the bottom border Saint Elizabeth, Saint Anne, and the Virgin Mary teach the Christ Child to sing from books.

pontifical.¹³ A highly competent First Assistant did eighty-three historiated initials and the two border scenes on folios 136 and 176; the remaining eighty historiated initials and two border scenes on folio 32 (fig. 6) and folio 47 are the work of the Bute Painter. He was cast in the role of Second Master in this book, for the work is distributed in such a way that he never worked in the same quire as the First Master, who did the parts of the book that are liturgically the most important and carry the one full-page miniature and the largest of the historiated initials.¹⁴ The Bute Painter did participate in some of the same quires as the First Assistant, although the two never worked on the same bifolium. The First Assistant and the Bute Painter each took sole responsibility for other quires, while the Bute Painter did only two quires by himself. Exactly who directed the opera-



FIGURE 6 Pontifical of Cambrai. Toledo, Archivo de la Catedral Ms. 56. 19, fol. 32 (top). Benediction for the Second Sunday after the Octave of Pentecost: the Parable of the Great Supper, to which the Lord directs his steward to summon a plowman working in the fields. Photo by the author.

tions is not quite clear; the director clearly felt the need to use written notes and marginal sketches in lead point as guides for his illuminators. The iconography of the pontifical is unusually elaborate for the period and it is likely that the illuminators had not met many of the subjects before; directives were clearly needed.¹⁵ All three artists derive their illustrative format and decorative vocabulary—broad-winged biting dragons, circular motifs with leaf-cusps and buds (fig. 4), the occasional marginal scene (fig. 6)—from the Epistle and Gospel books (Cambrai, M. M. Mss. 189–190),¹⁶ written in 1266 by Johannes Phylomena for Enguerrand de Créquy's predecessor on the episcopal throne of Cambrai, Nicolas de Fontaines (1249–72), suggesting that the team was based in Cambrai.¹⁷

In The Hague, K. B. Ms. 76 J 18, a breviary made

for an unknown patron of the Dominican house at Lille with original calendar entries dating before 1277,¹⁸ two additional painters again participated along with the Bute Painter; not the same ones as in the pontifical.¹⁹ One, of very inferior talent, was responsible only for folios 1 through 4.²⁰ The second painter worked so closely with the Bute Painter that both participated in several quires,²¹ although they never worked on the same bifolium, a working arrangement similar to the one between the Bute Painter and the Pontifical First Assistant. This time the Bute Painter did thirty-two historiated initials, borders, and marginal scenes (fig. 7), including the calendar (fig. 9), while the second painter did sixty-three historiated initials and borders. The greater quantity of work assigned to the latter suggests that he might have been in charge, although he is a

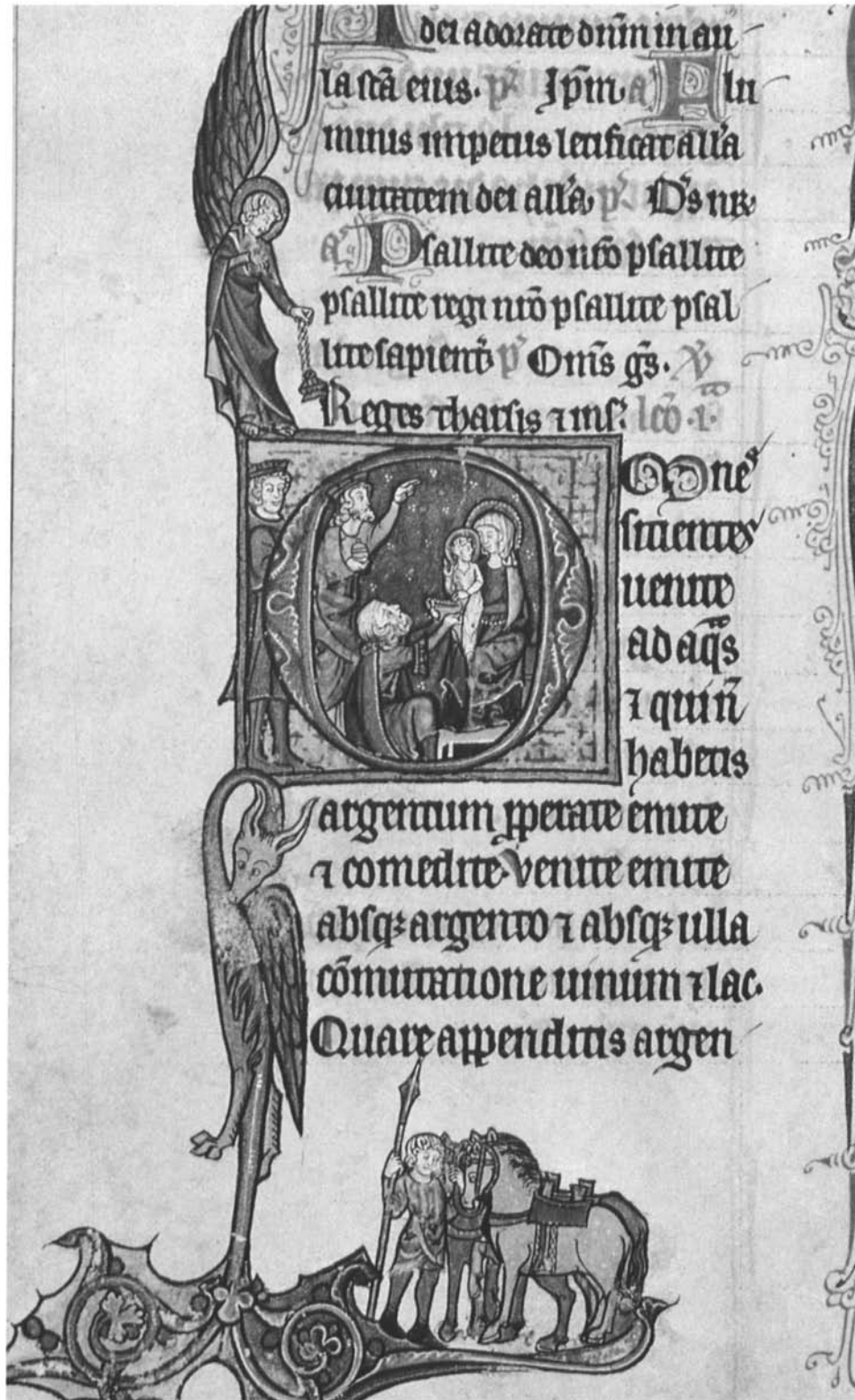


FIGURE 7 Dominican breviary. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 76 J 18, fol. 36v. First lesson for Matins on the feast of the Epiphany, the Adoration of the Magi, attended by a censing angel. On the lower border, which terminates with a biting dragon, a servant guards the horses of the Magi.

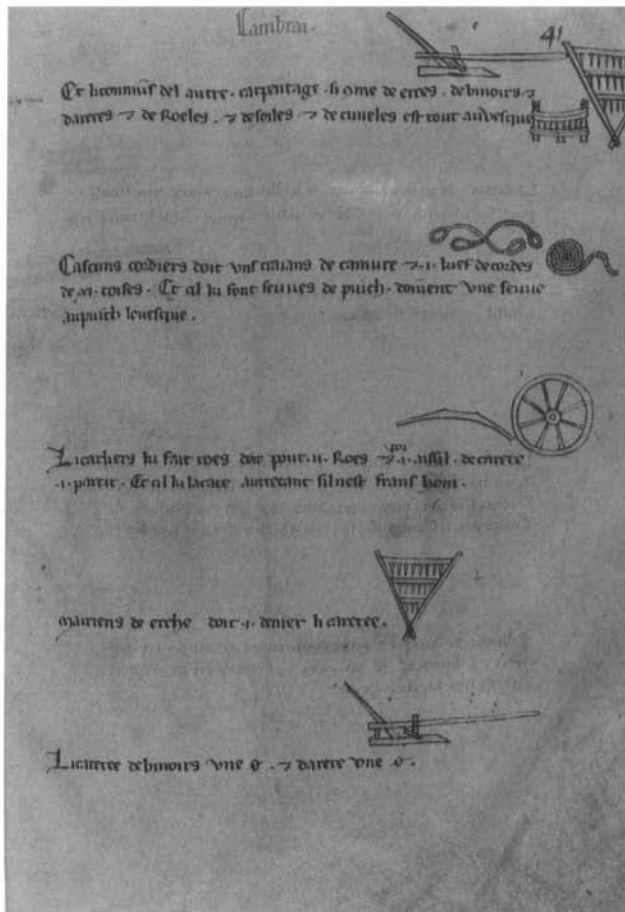


FIGURE 8 Rent book of Enguerrand de Créquy, bishop of Cambrai, in French. Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord, Ms. 3 G 1208, fol. 4r. Records and drawings of the tithes in plows, rakes, bathtubs, lengths of hemp, coils of rope, bentwood, and wheels owned by the craftsmen of Cambrai. Photo by the author.

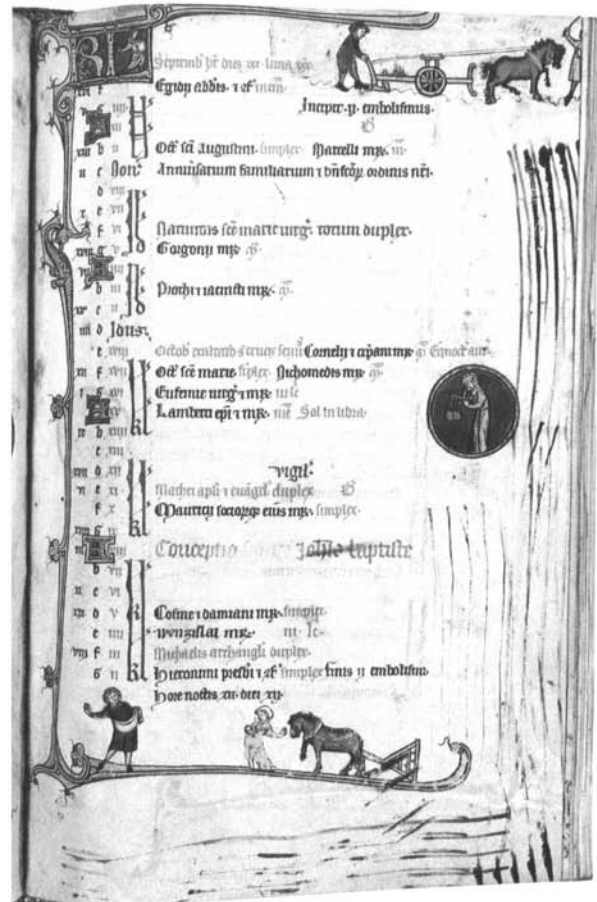


FIGURE 9 Dominican breviary. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 76 J 18, fol. 214 (bottom). Calendar, zodiac sign, and labors for the month of September; two men plowing; Libra; and a man and a woman sowing seed and raking.

considerably less interesting painter than the Bute artist; his work has not surfaced in other books and it is unclear just how he fits into the artistic scene.

If the Bute Painter and his associates on the pontifical used a set of decorative formats derived from the Epistle and Gospel books made a decade before, a similar kind of interaction with other models may have determined aspects of the Bute Painter's approach in his part of the Dominican breviary. Two parallels come to mind: his choice of iconography for the Nativity, showing Joseph holding the Christ Child (fig. 13), can be paralleled in ivories that were, most likely, made in the same region, notably those in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and also in Saint Petersburg and Bologna.²² He was not bound by this model, however, and treated the subject differently elsewhere (fig. 14). His treatment of the labors of the months in the calendar—breaking up the labors into several discreet activities in which different people, male and female, participate using a variety of tools and implements that are prominently displayed—is an approach he also takes to objects in the Bute Psalter (figs. 9, 10, 17).²³ Another book made for Bishop Enguerrand de Créquy was the *Terrier de l'évêque* (Lille, A. D. N. Ms. 3 G 1208 [Musée 342]), a record of the lands and rights of the bishop of Cambrai, produced in 1275–76 and illustrated with drawings of agricultural products, implements, structures, and natural boundaries (trees, rivers), which are arranged around the individual entries in the spaces between and in the margins, apparently in literal evocation of the reality of the farm labor alluded to in the entries (figs. 8, 11).²⁴ Like the related *Rentier d'Audenarde*



FIGURE 10 The Bute Psalter. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. 46, fol. 42v, Psalm 32. Christ holding a crown and a flail.

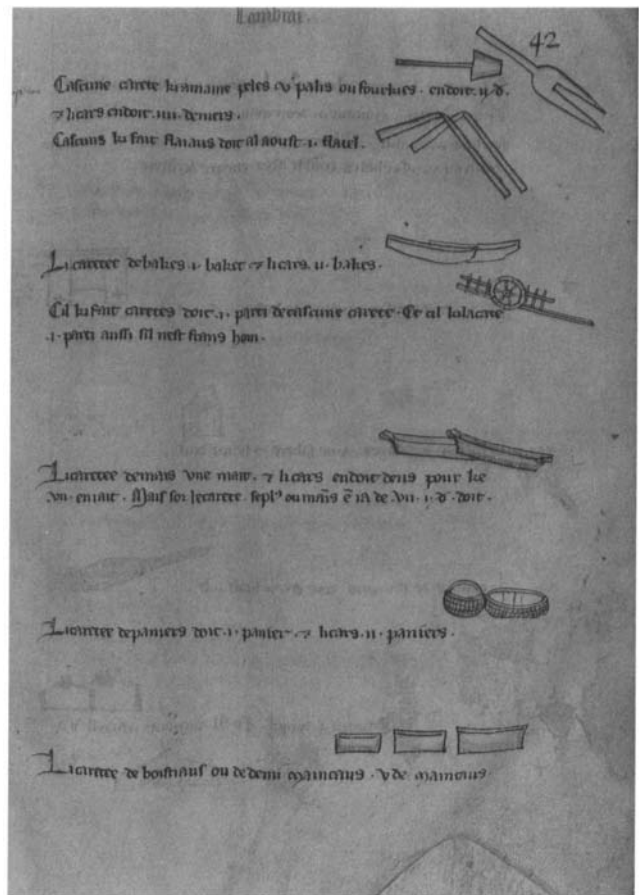


FIGURE 11 Rent book of Enguerrand de Créquy, bishop of Cambrai, in French. Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord, Ms. 3 G 1208, fol. 42. Records and drawings of the tithes owed by the makers of spades, forks, flails, dug-out boats, carts, baskets, and containers. Photo by the author.

(Brussels, B. R. Ms. 1175),²⁵ these books must once have been common possessions of landowners; their illustrations serve as a reminder that behind the spiritual interpretation of the “work” pictures that are so common in devotional contexts like that of a breviary and its calendar (fig. 9), or even a pontifical (fig. 6), there may well have lain a level of *Sachlichkeit* (objective realism) that is often overlooked by modern critics.²⁶

The pontifical, the Dominican breviary, and the Bute Psalter itself are the three books in which the Bute Painter's artistic talents are displayed in their most sophisticated form. His patrons in two cases were equally distinguished: the patron of the pontifical was the most important prelate in the diocese of Cambrai and county of Hainaut, noted for commissioning other interesting manuscripts.²⁷ Although less can be said about exactly who commissioned the breviary, the



FIGURE 12 Bible in French. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. A 211 (185), fol. 131. Jonah emerging from the back of the whale, holding a scroll that symbolizes his prophecy. Photo by the author.



FIGURE 13 Dominican breviary. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 76 J 18, fol. 25, First lesson for Matins on Christmas Day, the Nativity of Christ. Joseph hands the Child to the Virgin Mary, watched by the ox and ass.

Dominicans of Lille were significant patrons as well,²⁸ and their book shows the Bute Painter working for a client living in another city and a different diocese from the pontifical's patron. The artistic level of the painting in the Bute Psalter might suggest that it too was made for an eminent cleric; but it may be that money was the crucial determinant of quality level rather than whether the client was clerical or lay. More can be said about its later ownership, when it had come into secular hands, and the question of its original patron is addressed below.

In Rouen, B. M. Ms. A 211 (185), the second volume and the only one to survive of a two-volume Bible in French, the Bute Painter is still the second hand (fig. 12), and his work is clustered together in the middle quires, preceded and followed by that of the first painter and of another assistant both before and after.²⁹ The format of his painting in this book marks a change from his usual historiated initials and borders; to conform to the norm of illustrated Bibles in French, his work is contained in single-column miniatures with architectural frames of triple arches in diaper and gold fillet borders,³⁰ without painted borders or initials. The accompanying Bible text opens with pen-flourished initials, although his colleagues use champie initials (letters in gold on a blue and red pied ground). The general stylistic characteristics of lively energetic figures, many in profile, with expressive gestures, are still present; but the black outline, especially when used to define the ground, has become thick and coarse, tending to dominate the composition. The colors, too, tend to be applied with less modeling in a simpler wash technique.

Nothing is known about the patron of the Bible; it is tempting to speculate that it was made for a lay person by analogy with the other Latin psalter on which the Bute Painter worked, a tiny volume now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (W. A. G. Ms. 112).³¹ It is a manuscript not only small in size but much less elaborate in decorative program than the Bute Psalter. Only the major Psalms are illustrated, but the models for the Psalms that occur in both books are clearly close. The nonliturgical calendar indicates that the Walters psalter was made for a lay patron who probably lived in the town of Saint-Omer, in the ecclesiastical diocese of Thérouanne and politically on the Artesian borders of Flanders, enlarging the geographical network of the Bute Painter's clientele still further. Here, the Bute Painter's illustrations once again take the form of the



FIGURE 14 Latin chronicle of Martinus Polonus. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 18262, fol. 9. The Birth of Christ in the forty-second year of the reign of Emperor Octavian Augustus. The Virgin Mary holds the swaddled Christ Child; the ox and ass eat hay in the manger.



FIGURE 15 Life of Christ in French. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arse-nal, Ms. 3527, fol. 190v. The Crucifixion of Christ; Longinus, flanked by other figures, pierces the side of Christ with his spear; Stephaton(?) turns his back.

historiated initial, but his figures are simplified versions of those in his best works. This time he worked with an assistant who did the calendar illustrations, a division of labor that suggests that the Bute Painter was in charge, as he also seems to have been in another collaborative project, Paris, B. Ars. Ms. 3527, a miscellany of *fabliaux* and devotional texts in French. There, the division of labor is mostly one of succession, where the work of the second artist begins as a collaboration and ends quite separately. One might envisage a scenario in which the Bute Painter painted the first part of the book (fig. 15), hired an assistant, then died or moved on, and his lesser assistant completed the job.³²

The Bute Painter's later work was also largely devoted to illustrating secular texts that were mostly written in French. In these secular books, as in the Walters Psalter and the Rouen Bible, his style loses some

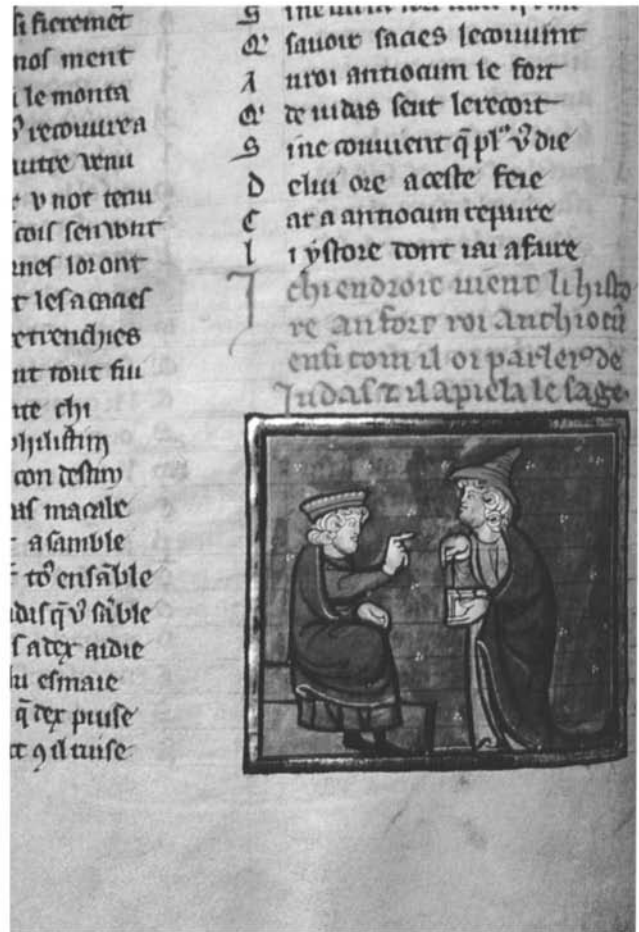


FIGURE 16 *Roman de Judas Machabé* in French. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Fr. 15104, fol. 18v. King Antiochus addresses Judas who wears a Jewish hat and holds a book.

of the subtlety he reserves for his work on the liturgical books and takes on a much more simplified and linear quality. Curiously, these are the books that have attracted the most attention in scholarly literature, while the participation of the Bute Painter in the pontifical and the Dominican breviary has gone virtually unnoticed.³³ The secular books seem to have occupied him at a later stage in his career than the liturgical books of the mid-1270s, beginning with a copy of the *Chronicles of Martinus Polonus* in Latin, Paris, B. N. F. Ms. Lat. 18262, probably made between 1277 and 1280 (fig. 14).³⁴ The date of 1285 for the composition of the *Roman de Judas Machabé*, Paris, B. N. F. Ms. Fr. 15104 (fig. 16), provides the latest date among the surviving manuscripts.³⁵ Its patron was "mon seur Guillaume" of Flanders, probably Guillaume de Termonde (d. 1312), son of Guy de Dampierre, count of Flanders, and this unique manu-

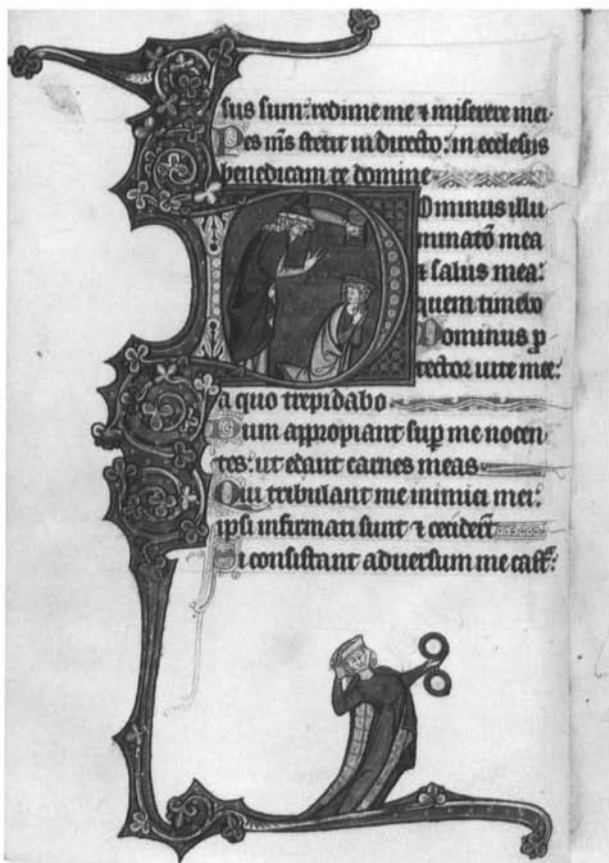


FIGURE 17 The Bute Psalter. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. 46, fol. 32v, Psalm 26. David anointed by Samuel; on the bottom border a woman raises one hand to her ear and with the other holds a large pair of spectacles or a double mirror.

script is likely to have been his copy.³⁶ Another unicum is Thomas de Cantimpré's *Liber de monstrosos hominibus* in the French translation made for "La dame d'Enghien," and, again, possibly her copy, Paris, B. N. F. Ms. Fr. 15106 (fig. 19).³⁷ The identity of the lady is problematical as there are several candidates of varying dates. The most likely is Marie de Réthel, third wife of Gautier I d'Enghien, brother of Jean d'Enghien, bishop of Tournai (1267–74) and Liège (1274–81). Marie married Gautier in 1266, was widowed before 1290, and died in 1316.³⁸ For unknown patrons were made a copy of Aldobrandinus of Siena's medical treatise in French, Paris, B. Ars. Ms. 2510 (fig. 18),³⁹ and a bestiary and lapidary in French, Paris, B. N. F. Ms. Fr. 14970 (fig. 20).⁴⁰ The text version of the lapidary in the latter is particularly close to that of another copy, Paris, B. N. F. Ms. Fr. 14964, which was illustrated by one of the painters who worked with the Bute Painter on the pontifical of Cambrai in Toledo; this link suggests that the Bute Painter



FIGURE 18 Aldebrandinus of Siena, Medical Treatise in a French translation. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 2510, fol. 24. On the care of children. A woman holding a round object instructs a kneeling child.

produced his copy while he was still closely associated with the pontifical painters. Also included in Paris, B. N. F. Ms. Fr. 14964 is Gossouin de Metz, *Image du Monde*, whose text is dated 1265; Paris, B. N. F. Ms. Fr. 14970 probably also originally had a copy of the *Image du Monde*, as it ends on folio 48 with a singleton containing a full-page diagram of the celestial hierarchy (fig. 20) like the one on folio 117 of Paris, B. N. F. Ms. Fr. 14964.⁴¹

The Bute Painter may have remained in the orbit of the Cambrai pontifical painters throughout his career, gradually becoming more independent as he worked alone on a book or with assistants of his own. The close working relationship between the Bute Painter and his collaborators on the pontifical and the Dominican breviary—sharing the painting in several quires of each book—certainly suggests that the idea of two or more painters sitting together in the same room, sharing the same expensive pigments and the gold leaf, for all prac-

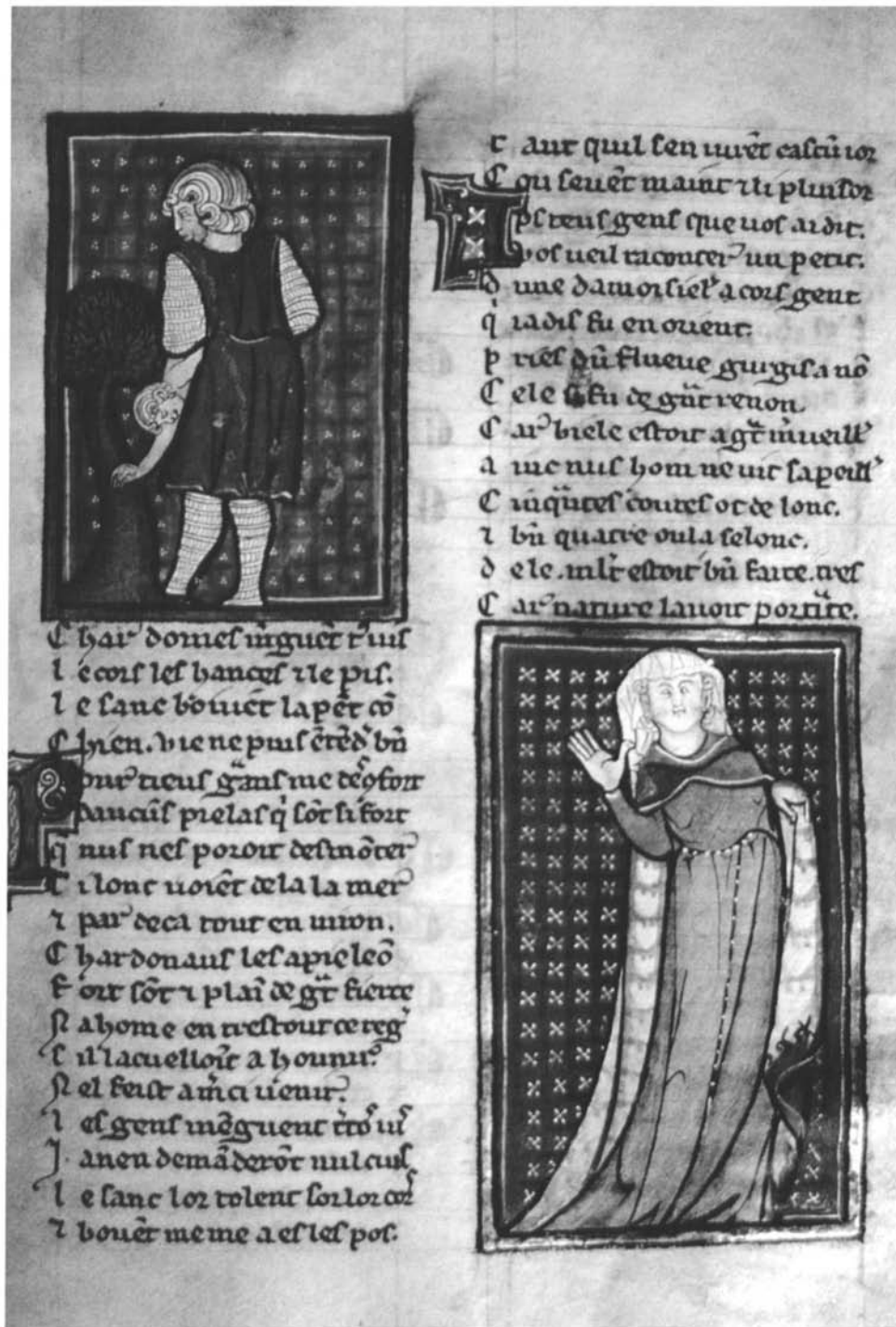


FIGURE 19 Thomas de Cantimpré, Book of Monsters in a French translation. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Fr. 15106, p. 31. A giant who wears armor and eats human flesh, called the Ciclopes or Chardonaus; a female giant.

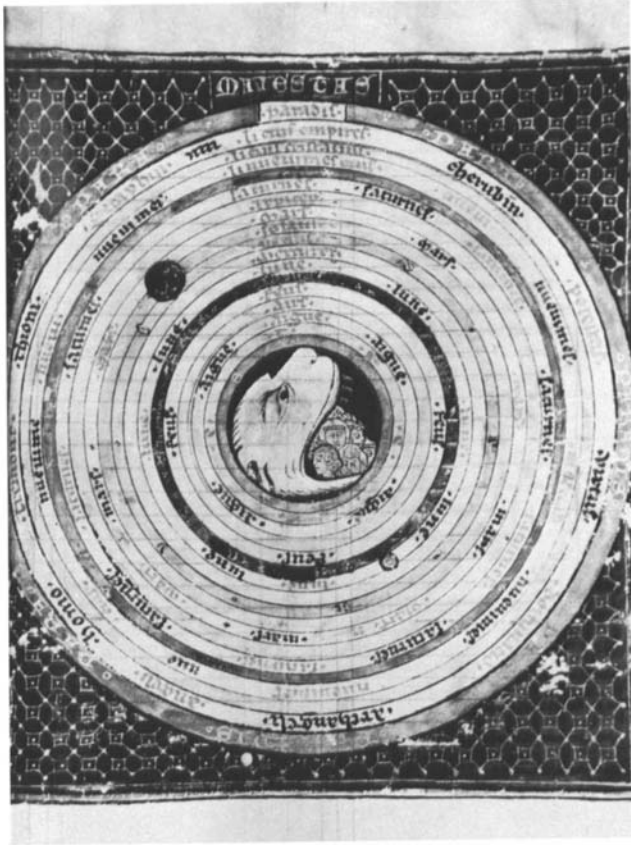


FIGURE 20 Gossuin de Metz, *Image du Monde*, in French. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Fr. 14970, fol. 48. Diagram of the celestial hierarchy with hell, shown as the jaw of Leviathan devouring humans, at the center.

tical purposes a “workshop,” is not a notion that should be entirely abandoned. How the collaboration with other associates worked is less clear. The number of different collaborators with which the Bute Painter can be associated might suggest that for the second part of his career he was an itinerant craftsman, working with whoever might be on the spot at a given place; but it is equally possible that commissions from elsewhere came to him, and that his activities were based in a town or city that had a distinguished tradition of making fine illuminated books and where several artists were active at the same time. There are also scribal links (not discussed here) that cut across several of the books on which the Bute Painter worked: of the four scribes who copied Paris, B. N. F. Ms. Fr. 14970, the third is the second scribe of Paris, B. N. F. Ms. Fr. 15104 and Paris, B. N. F. Ms. Fr. 15106; the fourth is the rubricator of Paris, B. N. F. Ms. Fr. 14970 and the first scribe in Paris, B. N. F. Ms. Fr. 15104 and Paris, B. N. F. Ms. Fr. 15106, the second

scribe in Rouen, B. M. Ms. A 211 and the scribe of Paris, B. Ars. Ms. 2510. The number of people involved would suggest that the book producing enterprise as a whole was based in a fixed place. The hagiographical associations of the liturgical and devotional books are otherwise the only pointers as to the geographical orbit of the Bute Painter, his colleagues, and his patrons—Cambrai, Tournai, Lille (diocese of Tournai), Saint-Omer (diocese of Thérouanne). These towns and cities were all important in the cloth trade that made the regions rich in the high Middle Ages, where major works of architecture and sculpture had been under way in the previous generation, and where there were traditions of making and illuminating books.⁴² At Lille the book illuminating activity would seem to be relatively new with the arrival of the Dominicans,⁴³ but Cambrai, Tournai, and Saint-Omer had well-established traditions of illumination extending back into the earlier Middle Ages.⁴⁴

Whatever the particular circumstances surrounding the Bute Painter’s working life may have been, the interesting thing about the distribution of his books is that they migrated across ecclesiastical boundaries, and across political ones as well: Cambrai in the late thirteenth century was in Hainaut, a fief of Empire, although ecclesiastically its diocese came under the jurisdiction of the Province of Reims, as did Tournai and Thérouanne, not that of Cologne; Tournai and Lille were in the county of Flanders and Saint-Omer was just over the border in the county of Artois; all were important civic and ecclesiastical centers in their own right, and all were French speaking, although Saint-Omer, Lille, and Tournai were close to the linguistic boundary with Flemish.⁴⁵ The books themselves were made for a cross-section of patrons drawn from civic and ecclesiastical circles, and the texts illustrated for these patrons were written in Latin or French,⁴⁶ ranging from the strictly liturgical through private devotions to history and pseudoscience to epic and romance. The Bute Painter’s activity illustrates a point I made long ago about a different group of manuscripts: the same painters worked on all kinds of books in the late thirteenth century, calling in question modern assumptions regarding what was considered sacred and what was secular for the Middle Ages.⁴⁷ The Bute Painter’s career illustrates some of the complexities and nuances of varying working situations.

The Bute Psalter’s fourteenth-century owner furnished his book with another 108 folios, comprising prayers to the Virgin and to various saints, the Commendation of Souls, the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin and the Seven Requests of Our Lord, the Hours of the Passion, and the Hours of the Cross attributed to Pope

John XXII (r. 1316–34).⁴⁸ A later addition comprises the Office of the Holy Spirit. Among the fourteenth-century additions are prayers to Saint Ursula and the Three Magi, venerated at Cologne, suggesting that the later owner may have had interests in or near Cologne. Another clue as to who he may have been is provided by the historiated initial on folio 266 that shows a dead knight, dressed in heraldic costume, on a bier. He wears a surcoat and ailette *or a lion sable, a bend gules overall*.

It is possible that this may be one of the counts of Namur, a cadet branch of the counts of Flanders, as suggested by Christopher de Hamel on the basis of Rietstap, *Armorial général*, II, p. 295.⁴⁹ Support for such an identification of the patron also is provided by the appearance of the same arms in the entry for the count of Namur in the Bigot Roll, no. 42;⁵⁰ and in the Wijnberghen Armorial, no. 1236, these arms are specifically assigned to Jean de Flandre, count of Namur (d. 1305).⁵¹ But Jean de Flandre is not the knight shown here, as the painting cannot be as early as 1305 or before, and further heraldic evidence from surviving seals suggests that the lion on the Namur arms was more usually shown crowned.⁵² Jean's brother, Guillaume de Termonde (d. 1312), also bore the arms *or a lion sable, a bend gules overall*,⁵³ and would be a more likely possibility, although a date of about 1312 is still a little too early for this style.

It is still more likely that the arms in the Bute Psalter illustration are those of a member of the family of the counts or dukes of Juliers (Jülich), imperial feudatories, whose seat was on the Ruhr between Aachen and Cologne, and whose interests would accord well with the Cologne emphasis of the added prayers.⁵⁴ In the Wijnberghen Armorial no. 752 *or a lion sable* are also the arms attributed by the editors to Count Gerard V of Juliers (1297–1328),⁵⁵ and his sons Guillaume (d. 1361) and Godefroi (d. 1335) are given the same arms, with a *bend gu* for Guillaume (no. 753).⁵⁶ Under Guillaume V the family fortunes were on the rise: the county of Juliers was accorded the status of a margravate by Emperor Ludwig of Bavaria in 1336 and that of a duchy in 1356 under Charles IV; and Guillaume's brother Waleran became archbishop of Cologne (r. 1332–49). But the dead knight is unlikely to be Guillaume himself, as he would have abandoned the *bend gules* at the death of his father; his seal shows no bend.⁵⁷ More likely, the dead knight is one of Guillaume's sons or, as Paul Adam-Even and Léon Jéquier suggest, a member of the cadet branch of the Juliers family, perhaps a son of Waleran II (1271–1312), whose seal shows the Juliers arms with a bend.⁵⁸

It is possible that a member of the Juliers family might have been the original patron of the Bute Psalter.

The political activities of the cadet branch of the Juliers brought them into close contact with other clients of the Bute Painter. Waleran I of Juliers was marshall of the Kingdom of Germany under Richard of Cornwall, and a close associate of Nicolas de Fontaines, bishop of Cambrai and Richard's chancellor.⁵⁹ It was for Nicolas's successor on the episcopal throne, Enguerrand de Créquy, that the Bute Painter illuminated part of the pontifical of Cambrai now in Toledo. The psalter itself contains very few clues as to who its original patron might have been. It was clearly a person of wealth, and probably someone whose chaplain or confessor was a Franciscan.⁶⁰ That the patron was likely to have been a woman is hinted at by the presence of Clare in the litany and by the prominence of women in the borders; the lady with the mirror/spectacles on folio 32v (fig. 17); the lady with flowers in her hair, whose prayer is about to be subverted by a monkeylike creature with a two-pronged fork (folio 92);⁶¹ and, most important, the group of three Holy Women and a Holy Child reading (or, as they are standing rather than sitting, more probably singing from) books on folio 61v (fig. 5). One of those women is certainly the Virgin Mary, as she is crowned; so the group ought to be an early instance of Saint Anne, Saint Elizabeth, and the Virgin Mary teaching the Christ Child to read, except that the Child has no cross in his halo (a careless omission?).⁶² Possibly Waleran II had the book made for his wife, Imagina von Westerburg.⁶³ Or it might have been made for a lady in the family of the counts of Hainaut, and have come to the Juliers family through a later marriage like that of Jeanne, wife of Guillaume V de Juliers, daughter of Guillaume I (count of Hainaut), and sister of Philippa who married Edward III of England.⁶⁴ Whatever the precise circumstances, the Bute Psalter adds an important dimension to the diverse activities of its memorable artist.

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NOTES

This article is part of a larger study of thirteenth-century manuscripts made in Flanders and Hainaut, funded in part by the National Endowment for the Humanities, whose grant I acknowledge with gratitude.

1. The Marquess of Bute Sale, Sotheby's, June 13 1983, lot 4, pp. 16–25, pl.; formerly Ms. 150 (G 27) in the Marquess of Bute Collection; since October 1992 Ms. 46 in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu; T. Kren, "Acquisitions/1992: Manuscripts," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 21 (1993), pp. 111–14, no. 19.
2. See E. A. Peterson, "Iconography of the Historiated Psalm Initials in the Thirteenth-Century French Fully-Illustrated Psalter Group" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1991); idem, "Accidents of Transmission Among Fully-Illustrated Thirteenth-Century French Psalters," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 50 (1987), pp. 375–84; idem, "Visual Errors in French Gothic Psalter Illustration," in *The Early Medieval Bible, Its Production, Decoration and Use*, ed. R. Gameson (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 177–204. A study of the Bute Psalter's iconography by E. Peterson is in preparation.
3. Several studies have been devoted to aspects of these books, beginning with E. J. Beer, "Das Scriptorium des Johannes Phylomena und seine Illuminatoren," *Scriptorium* 23 (1969), pp. 24–38; H. Stahl, "Le Bestiaire de Douai," *Revue de l'Art* 8 (1970), pp. 6–16; the Tournai missal and related manuscripts listed by A. Stones in *Trésors de la Cathédrale de Tournai*, ed. J. Dumoulin and J. Pycke (Tournai, 1971), pp. 51–53; and under Paris, Maz. Ms. 753 in L. Pressouyre and T. Kinder, eds., *Saint Bernard et le monde cistercien* (Paris, 1990), no. 86; the Marquette Bible, included by E. J. Beer in "Liller Bibelcodices, Tournai und die Scriptorien der Stadt Arras," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 43 (1972), pp. 190–226; and by W. B. Clark, "A Re-United Bible and Thirteenth-Century Illumination in Northern France," *Speculum* 50 (1975), pp. 33–47, now Malibu, Getty Ms. Ludwig I 8, A. von Euw and J. Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*, 4 vols. (Cologne, 1979–85), vol. 1, pp. 85–92; the Cistercian antiphonary Malibu, Getty Ms. Ludwig VI 5, *ibid.*, pp. 280–84, now supplemented by Malibu, Getty Ms. 44, with parts at the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota (Christie's, December 9, 1981, lot 229). Many other books complete the list; a full study is in preparation.
4. Archives, libraries, and museums will hereafter be referred to as follows: Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery—Baltimore, W. A. G.; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er—Brussels, B. R.; Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale—Cambrai, M. M.; Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale—Douai, B. M.; The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek—The Hague, K. B.; Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord—Lille, A. D. N.; London, British Library—London, B. L.; Mons, Bibliothèque de l'Université de Mons-Hainaut—Mons, B. U. M.-H.; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal—Paris, B. Ars.; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine—Paris, B. Maz.; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France—Paris, B. N. F.; Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale—Rouen, B. M.; Toledo, Archivo de la Catedral—Toledo, A. C.
- In addition to the Bute Psalter the manuscripts referred to here are, in approximate chronological order, the pontifical of Cambrai, Toledo, A. C. Ms. 56. 19; the Dominican breviary, The Hague, K. B. Ms. 76 J 18; the Bible in French, Rouen, B. M. Ms. A 211 (185); the psalter of Saint-Omer, Baltimore, W. A. G. Ms. W. 112; the Latin Chronicles of Martinus Polonus, Paris, B. N. F. Ms. Lat. 18262; the miscellany, Paris, B. Ars. Ms. 3527; the French translation of Aldobrandinus of Siena, Paris, B. Ars. Ms. 2510; the *Roman de Judas Machabé*, Paris, B. N. F. Ms. Fr. 15104; the French translation of Thomas de Cantimpré, Paris, B. N. F. Ms. Fr. 15106; the bestiary, lapidary, and partial *Image du Monde*, Paris, B. N. F. Ms. Fr. 14970.
5. Limitations on photographic reproductions preclude illustrating the work of all but one collaborator. Each of the Bute Painter's collaborators also worked with other painters, decorators, and scribes as part of an impressive large-scale network of production in which at least seven or eight individuals took part. For a brief analysis of some aspects of this collaboration, treated from the standpoint of the artist of the *Perceval* of Chrétien de Troyes in Mons, B. U. M.-H. Ms. 331/206 (4568), see A. Stones, "The Illustrated Chrétien Manuscripts and Their Artistic Context," in *Les Manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. K. Busby, T. Nixon, A. Stones, L. Walters, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1993), vol. 1, pp. 227–322 at pp. 243–50.
6. See Peterson 1991 (note 2).
7. This miniature format for vernacular illustration is common in the period but by no means ubiquitous, and we do not know exactly why the distinction was made within this group of books. For the range of format possibilities in the illustrations of Chrétien de Troyes's manuscripts, see Busby et al. (note 5). Again, we do not know what the reasons for the choices were.
8. No payment records relating to any of the eleven books on which the Bute Painter worked have survived, nor are there adequate records for any of the places associated with his clients, so an examination of the crucial dimension of finance in relation to quality must be left aside.
9. J. Domínguez Bordona, *Manuscritos con pinturas*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1933), no. 1823, fig. 589; J. Janini and R. González, *Catálogo de los manuscritos litúrgicos de la Catedral de Toledo*, Publicaciones del Instituto provincial de investigaciones y estudios Toledanos, Serie Tercera, Estudios, Catálogos, Repertorios, vol. 11 (Toledo, 1977), no. 216; A. Stones and J. Steyaert, *Medieval Illumination, Glass and Sculpture in Minnesota Collections* (Minneapolis, 1978), p. 12, fig. 14; Stones (note 5), fig. 58.
10. Stones and Steyaert (note 9), fig. 14.
11. It came to Toledo with the books of Alfonso Carrillo de Acuña, bishop of Sigüenza (1434–46), who became archbishop of Toledo (1446–82); he inherited the episcopal see of Sigüenza, and presumably with it the pontifical, from his uncle, cardinal and bishop of Osma (1411–24) and Sigüenza (1424–34), who had purchased the volume while a student at Avignon. It could have come on the market at the death of Robert de Genève, bishop of Cambrai (1368–72), who left Cambrai on becoming a cardinal in 1372; he was elected antipope as Clement VII and died in Avignon in 1394, whereupon the book would have been seized as papal spolia. A note indicates it was up for pawn in 1404; see D. Williman, *Records of the Papal Right of Spoil* (Paris, 1974). Two other books made for Enguerrand de Créquy are extant: the extraordinary Rentier of the bishop of Cambrai in the Archives du Nord, Lille (Ms. 3 G 1208), and the decretals in French (Paris, B. N. F. Ms. Fr. 491), mentioned below.
12. Janini and González (note 9), pl.; Stones (note 5), fig. 58.
13. I see him as the artist of the Decretals in French, Paris, B. N. F. Ms. Fr. 491, probably also made for Enguerrand de Créquy shortly after the Council of Lyons of 1274; the poorly preserved Bestiary, Paris, B. N. F. Ms. Fr. 14964; the psalter made for Marchiennes or Hamage-lès-Marchiennes, Brussels, B. R. Ms. 14682; perhaps also of the Bestiary Douai, B. M. Ms. 711. Early works are the Bernardine compilation, Paris, B. Maz. Ms. 753, and the Vincent of Beauvais, Brussels, B. R. Ms. II 1396. This

- painter exerted a formative influence on Henri, painter of the *Vies de saints*, Paris, B. N. F. Ms. Fr. 412, in 1285, and of Madame Marie's picture book, Paris, B. N. F. Ms. n. a. Fr. 16251; see Stones (note 5), pp. 248–50; and idem, forthcoming.
14. I reserve a more detailed demonstration for another occasion, summarizing my findings briefly here: the First Master and First Assistant divided between them the illustration in quires F, G, and I; the First Assistant alone did quires E, J, K, M, O, Q; the First Assistant and the Bute Painter worked on quires A, B, H, L, P; the Bute Painter alone did quires C and D.
 15. Some examples from this book in A. Stones, "Indications écrites et modèles picturaux, guides aux peintres de manuscrits enluminés aux environs de 1300," in *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Age*, Colloque international, Université de Rennes II, 2–6 mai, 1983, ed. X. Barral I. Altet, 3 vols. (Paris, 1988–90), vol. 3, pp. 321–49, figs. 10, 11. For the general picture, see J. J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven and London, 1992).
 16. Two major artists and an incompetent assistant worked on these books; numerous other manuscripts can be attributed to them.
 17. The scribal characteristics of Johannes Phylomena also occur in the pontifical, indicating that it may be a second, hitherto unrecognized, product of his hand: similar spacing and scale, biting, backturned *d* with a hairline serif, Tironian *et*, punctuation mark of dot or comma and almost closed circle, closed bow on *g*, and so forth.
 18. The inclusion of Piat after Rémi in the calendar (October 1), suggests the diocese of Tournai; Lille was the most important center of Dominican activity in the diocese and the owner of this book was probably a member of the Dominican house at Lille.
 19. A. S. Korteweg and C. A. Chavannes-Mazel, eds., *Schatten van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, exh. cat. (The Hague, 1980), no. 27; P. C. Boeren, ed., *Catalogus van de liturgische handschriften van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (The Hague, 1987), no. 48; Stones (note 5), figs. 63, 64.
 20. Could he be the Mons *Perceval* Painter? I could not be sure, but it is likely, given that the *Perceval* Painter did the calendar in Baltimore, W. A. G. Ms. 39; see further discussion below.
 21. They both participated in quires C, U, V, W, X, Z, and AA.
 22. C. R. Morey, *Gli oggetti di avorio e di osso del Museo Sacro Vaticano. Catalogo del Museo Sacro* (Vatican City, Rome, 1993), vol. 1, figs. 28, 29, 31 respectively; R. Koehlin, *Les ivoires gothiques françaises* (Paris, 1924), p. 137, n. 142. The treatment gives prominence to the role of Joseph in the Holy Family, an emphasis that would be more appropriate in a book made for a patron who was part of a family than for a Dominican.
 23. The object held by the marginal lady on fol. 32v seems to relate to the word *illuminatio* in the opening line of the Psalm and to represent either an open mirror and its cover, or, more interestingly, a huge pair of spectacles. The inventory of Guy de Dampierre, count of Flanders, made at his death in 1305, lists a pair of spectacles with brass rims; see C. Dehaisnes, *Documents et extraits divers concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois et le Hainaut avant le XV^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Lille, 1886), vol. 1, pp. 170 ff., Rijksarchief, Ghent, inv. Gaillard 746: "i spectacle pour lire bordé de laiton." Both this and the Bute Psalter are considerably earlier than the examples discussed in J. Dreyfus, "The Invention of Spectacles and the Advent of Printing," *The Library*, sixth ser., 19 (1988), pp. 93–106, to which Elizabeth Peterson kindly drew my attention.
 24. P. Piétrisson de Saint-Aubin, *Répertoire numérique. Série G (Clergé séculier)*, pt. 2 (Lille, 1968), p. 194; A. Hjorth, *La partie cambrésienne du Polyptyque dit "Terrier de l'Évêque" de Cambrai*, pt. 1, *Le Manuscrit et la langue*, Romanica Gothoburgensia 12 (Stockholm, 1971); pt. 2, *Le texte*, Romanica Gothoburgensia 16 (Kungälv, 1978).
 25. L. Verriest, *Le polyptyque illustré dit "Viel Rentier" de Messire Jehan de Pamele-Audenarde (vers 1275)*, (Brussels, 1950); Rev. L. M. J. Delaissé, *Scriptorium* 6 (1952), pp. 303–8, preferring Verriest's dating to that of Gaspar and Lyna.
 26. Thus my position is rather different from that of Michael Camille in "Labouring for the Lord: The Ploughman and the Social Order in the Luttrell Psalter," *Art History* 19 (1987), pp. 423–54, noting that Camille dates the *Rentier d'Audenarde* too late at 1291 (n. 60, no reference to Delaissé).
 27. Paris, B. N. F. Ms. Fr. 491 and Lille, A. D. N. Ms. 3 G 1208, see above.
 28. For their contribution to the dissemination of the Bible, see Beer 1969 (note 3).
 29. G. von Vitzthum, *Die Pariser Miniaturmalerei zur Zeit des heiligen Ludwigs* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 109; M. A. Stones, "The Illustrations of the French Prose Lancelot, 1250–1340" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1970–71), pp. 154–55, 424; F. Avril, ed., *Le livre saint en Normandie. Bibles manuscrites et enluminées, VIII–XIII^e siècles* (Avranches, 1995), no. 18, pl. (unnumbered). The closest parallels for the major collaborator are with Branner's Grusch atelier, although his Wenceslas atelier is also relevant, notably in the Rouen missal, Rouen, B. M. Ms. Y 50 (277); see R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of St. Louis* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1977), pp. 222–23; the second collaborator has not reappeared elsewhere.
 30. An important formal link with the work of Henri in Paris, B. N. F. Ms. n. a. Fr. 16251; compare figs. 57 and 61 in Stones (note 5).
 31. L. M. C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, I, France, 875–1420* (Baltimore, 1989), cat. 38; the link with the Bute Psalter is noted on p. 89.
 32. This assistant also enjoyed a flourishing independent career, discussed in Stones (note 5), pp. 243–46. He was solely responsible for the illustrations in the Mons copy of the *Perceval* of Chrétien de Troyes, a text commissioned in the late twelfth century by Thierry d'Alsace, count of Flanders; the Mons copy is a special version that also includes illustrated prologues and continuations: Mons, B. U. M.-H. Ms. 331/206. The Mons *Perceval* Painter was also the only artist of the *Roman d'Alexandre*, Paris, B. N. F. Ms. Fr. 786, together with its prefatory calendar in French—unusual in a romance manuscript—made for lay use in Tournai; the translation of Eleutherius on August 25 suggests Tournai use; Louis is absent, most likely indicating a date before 1297 (Stones [note 5], fig. 40). He also illustrated a small book of hours made for use at the collegiate church of Saint-Pierre, Lille, in the diocese of Tournai, Baltimore, W. A. G. Ms. 39 (Randall [note 31], cat. 39; Stones [note 5], fig. 48, wrongly identified as Baltimore, W. A. G. 112). He even had an assistant of his own, with whom he collaborated on the *Guillaume d'Orange*, Bern, Burgerbibliothek Ms. 296 (Stones [note 5], figs. 42–44).
 33. Stones (note 5), pp. 246–49.
 34. L. Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits latins conservés sous les numéros 8823–18614* (Paris, 1863–71), p. 88. My attention was drawn to this book by François Avril, to whom I express my thanks. The last entry in the section on the popes is the beginning of the reign of Nicholas II (r. 1277–80); in the section on kings and emperors, the last date mentioned is the death of Henri de Navarre who died during the crusade of 1270; perhaps a clerical

- patron is suggested by the fact that the papal section was more up to date than that of the emperors; but the manuscript was no. 43 in the ancien fonds de Navarre, suggesting a patron with strong Navarrese connections.
35. J. Porcher, *Les Manuscrits à peintures du XIIIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1955), no. 22, pl. 111; R. L. McGrath, "The Romance of the Maccabees in Medieval Art and Literature" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1963), pp. 26–34, 203–26; J. R. Smeets, *La Chevalerie de Judas Macabé* (Assen, 1965) (edition); Stones (note 29), pp. 422–43; P. M. de Winter, *La Bibliothèque de Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne (1364–1404)* (Paris, 1985), pp. 76–78, 244, 292, n. 38; Stones (note 5), figs. 52, 53.
 36. Smeets (note 35), pp. lxiv–lxvii. There are also echos of the Bute Master's style in other notable books made for the family of the counts of Flanders, particularly in the so-called psalter of Guy de Dampierre, Brussels, B. R. Ms. 10607; see C. Gaspar and F. Lyna, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1937; repr. 1984), vol. 1, p. 95; Stones (note 29), pp. 523–27, and in the work of the second painter in the Yale *Lancelot*, Beinecke Library Ms. 229 (see *ibid.*, pp. 430–37; B. A. Shailor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University* [Binghampton, 1984], vol. 1, p. 322–31), which might possibly have been commissioned by Guillaume de Termonde. Further discussion of this question in A. Stones, "The Illustrations of the Yale Prose *Lancelot*," *The Arthurian Yearbook* (1995).
 37. A. Hilka, *Eine altfranzösische moralisierende Bearbeitung des 'Liber de monstruosis hominibus orientis' aus Thomas de Cantimpré 'De naturis rerum,' nach der einzigen Handschrift* (Paris, B. N. Fr. 15106) *herausgegeben*, *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, 3. Folge, nr. 7 (Berlin, 1933) (edition); L.-F. Flutre, "A propos de l'édition Hilka du poème des Monstres des Hommes," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 71 (1955), pp. 422–48; Stones (note 29), pp. 44, 59, 149, 159, 423–25; De Winter (note 35), p. 244. The incoherence of much of the text in the manuscript makes it somewhat unlikely that it is the original.
 38. Dates according to C. Monnier, "Des monuments funèbres de la famille d'Enghien existant encore dans les ruines de l'église de l'abbaye de Cambron," *Annales du cercle archéologique d'Enghien* 4 (1891–92), pp. 370–94; according to L. de Mas-Latrie, *Trésor de chronologie* (Paris, 1889), col. 1669, she was married to Gauthier II d'Enghien; no dates given. Marie was a notable benefactress of other local religious institutions besides Cambron; see E. Matthieu, "Les libéralités de Marie de Réthel, dame d'Enghien," *ibid.*, pp. 454–61. I see her as a likely candidate to be the Madame Marie of the picture book (Paris, B. N. F. Ms. n. a. Fr. 16251). See Stones (note 5), pp. 248–49, for links between the Bute Painter and Master Henri, artist of the picture book and of Paris, B. N. F. Ms. Fr. 412, which he illustrated in 1285; further discussion in my forthcoming facsimile of Paris, B. N. F. Ms. Fr. 16251.
 39. This manuscript makes no claims in its opening paragraph about who the text was composed for; in the somewhat earlier manuscript London, B. L., Sloane Ms. 2435, an elaborate opening paragraph written in gold says Aldobrandins made it ("fist") for "Benoît de Florenche," about whom nothing further is known. Other copies claim the text was composed for Beatrice de Savoie, widow of Raymond Béranger, last count of Provence, and mother of the queens of France, England, and Germany, and the countess of Anjou. See L. Landouzy and R. Pépin, eds., *Le Régime du Corps de Maître Aldebrandin de Sienne* (Paris, 1911) (edition); P. M. Jones and M. Pratellesi, "Il regime del corpo," *Kos* 2 (1985), pp. 41–56 (color illustrations of Sloane Ms. 2435).
 40. Porcher (note 35), no. 23; Stones (note 29), p. 424. The bestiary is Guillaume le Clerc's version, *Das Tierbuch des normannischen dichters Guillaume le Clerc*, ed. R. Reinsch (Leipzig, 1890; repr. Wiesbaden, 1967), Ms. G, together with his *Lapidaire de Marbode*, L. Pannier, *Les lapidaires français du Moyen Age des XIIe, XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Paris, 1882), Ms. C.
 41. For the text, see A. Långfors, *Les incipit des poèmes français antérieurs au XVIe siècle. Répertoire bibliographique établie à l'aide de notes de M. Paul Meyer* (Paris, 1917), p. 315; E.-D. Grand, *Image du monde, poème didactique du XIIIe siècle. Recherches sur les rédactions non interpolées, interpolées et en prose*, Positions des thèses de l'École des Chartes (1885 and 1886); *idem*, "L'Image du monde, poème didactique du XIIIe siècle," *Revue des langues romanes* 37 (1893), p. 28. I thank François Avril for drawing this manuscript to my attention and Michael Evans for generously making his notes and photographs available to me.
 42. J. Thiebaut, "La cathédrale disparue de Cambrai et sa place dans l'évolution de l'architecture du nord de la France" (Thèse de doctorat troisième cycle, Lille, 1975); *idem*, "L'iconographie de la cathédrale disparue de Cambrai," *Revue du Nord* 58 (1976), pp. 407–33; *idem*, "Les chef-d'œuvres méconnus et disparus," *Monuments historiques*, 121 (1982), pp. 23–28 (Saint-Omer, Cambrai); A. Deville, ed., *Histoire de Saint-Omer, Histoire des villes du Nord*, pt. 1 (Lille, 1981); L. Trénard, ed., *Histoire de Cambrai, Histoire des villes du Nord*, pt. 2 (Lille, 1982); P. Hélot, "La façade de la cathédrale de Tournai," *Bulletin de la Commission Royale des monuments et sites* 14 (1963), pp. 291–308, with previous literature; L.-F. Genicot, *La Cathédrale de Tournai* (Gembloux, 1969); Guy Jourdain, "St.-Pierre, Lille," in *Dictionnaire des églises*, pt. 5 (Paris, 1978), pp. 73–74; Henri Dupont, "Pierres tombales découvertes sous l'emplacement de la Collégiale Saint-Pierre de Lille (1963)," *Revue du Nord* 47 (1965), pp. 623–33. These were not the only centers at this time: Arras, Douai, Théroutanne, Courtrai, Ypres, and Valenciennes also played a role in artistic production, not to mention the monastic orders, particularly the Cistercians, whose houses owned fine books and whose order provided vehicles for artistic transmission, but these names simply have not surfaced in relation to the present enquiry.
 43. Beer 1969 (note 3). The presence of a Parisian-looking collaborator in Rouen, B. M. Ms. A 211, may in some way be connected with the Dominican network and its Paris links, although there are other channels through which Parisian craftsmen might have been lured to the provinces, such as the network of cathedral canons, many of whom went to study in Paris. For the canons of Tournai, see J. Pycke, *Le Chapitre cathédral Notre-Dame de Tournai de la fin du XIe à la fin du XIIIe siècle, son organisation, sa vie, ses membres*, Université de Louvain, Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie, 6e série, fascicule 30 (Louvain-la-Neuve and Brussels, 1986); *idem*, *Répertoire biographique des chanoines de Notre-Dame de Tournai, 1080–1300*, Université de Louvain, Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie, 6e série, fascicule 35 (Louvain-la-Neuve and Brussels, 1988).
 44. For Cambrai, see A. Stones, "Cambrai: Miniatura," in *Enciclopedia Italiana*, ed. A. M. Romanini (Rome, 1993), vol. 3, pp. 83–85. For Tournai, see A. de la Grange and L. Cloquet, "Études sur l'art à Tournai et sur les anciens artistes de cette ville," *Mémoires de la Société historique et littéraire de Tournai* 20 (1887), entire volume; *Horae Tornacenses, Recueil d'études d'histoire publiées à l'occasion du VIIIe centenaire de la consécration de la Cathédrale de Tournai* (Tournai, 1971). For Saint-Omer, see Deville (note 42).
 45. C. Dehaisnes, "Délimitations du français et du flamand dans le nord de la France depuis la formation de la langue romane

- jusqu'à nos jours," *Bulletin de la Commission historique du Nord* (1897), pp. 277–318.
46. It would be another generation before book production in these regions and slightly further north would encompass texts in both Flemish and French; see A. Stones, "Another Short Note on Rylands Fr. 1," *Romanesque and Gothic, Essays for George Zarnecki*, ed. Neil Stratford (Bury Saint Edmunds, 1987), pp. 185–92.
 47. See A. Stones, "Sacred and Profane Art: Secular and Liturgical Book-Illumination in the Thirteenth Century," in *The Epic in Medieval Society, Aesthetic and Moral Values*, ed. H. Scholler (Tübingen, 1977), pp. 100–12. There are significant implications for how the illustrations of particular texts were interpreted—in my view production patterns must be taken into account when analyzing particular textual and illustrative choices.
 48. The style of the illustrations in this section of the manuscript were attributed by Christopher de Hamel in the Sotheby Catalogue to "that associated with the great Parisian illuminator Jean Pucelle"; Sotheby's, sale catalogue, June 13, 1983.
 49. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
 50. P. Adam-Even, "Un armorial français du milieu du XIII^e siècle: Le rôle d'armes Bigot—1254," *Archives héraldiques suisses* 63 (1949), pp. 15–22, 68–75, 115–21.
 51. P. Adam-Even and L. Jéquier, "Un armorial français du XIII^e siècle: L'armorial Wijnberghen," *Archives héraldiques suisses* 65 (1951), pp. 49–62, 101–10; *idem*, *Archives héraldiques suisses* 66 (1952), pp. 28–36, 64–68, 103–11; *idem*, *Archives héraldiques suisses* 68 (1954), pp. 55–80.
 52. L. Douet d'Arcq, *Collection des sceaux des archives de l'Empire*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1863–68), no. 10317, cited in Adam-Even and Jéquier (note 51), no. 1236; Adam-Even and Jéquier (note 51), p. 54.
 53. Adam-Even and Jéquier (note 51), no. 1235.
 54. *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, pt. 5 (Munich and Zurich, 1991), cols. 803–5; T. R. Kraus, *Jülich, Aachen und das Reich: Studien zur Entstehung der Landesherrschaft der Grafen von Jülich bis zum Jahre 1328* (Aachen, 1987).
 55. Gerhard III according to Kraus, *ibid.*, genealogical table.
 56. G. Demay, *Inventaire des sceaux de la Flandre*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1873), no. 223, gives a lion with forked tail for Guillaume IV, count of Juliers, in 1263.
 57. Kraus (note 54), abb. 14, citing W. Ewald, *Siegel der Grafen und Herzöge von Jülich, Berg, Cleve, Herren von Heinsberg, Tafel, Rheinische Siegel*, pt. 6 (Bonn, 1941); *idem*, with E. Meyer-Wurbach, *Textband* (Bonn, 1963), p. 5, no. 8a. No forked tail.
 58. Adam-Even and Jéquier (note 51), p. 53.
 59. T. W. E. Roache, *The King of Almayne* (London, 1966), p. 143; Kraus (note 54), pp. 115–16.
 60. As with the text of the psalms, the manuscript includes a litany of saints in which Saint Francis and Saint Clare are invoked. The manuscript would also have originally had a calendar, which is now missing.
 61. The treatment of the hair, unveiled, makes the gender slightly ambiguous, but I think the pose and the presence of a veil over the shoulders make this a young woman.
 62. The procession of Holy Ladies and Child also resonates to the words of Psalm 44, verses 14–16, beginning on the facing page, "All the glory of the king's daughter is within in golden borders, 15 clothed round about with varieties. After her shall virgins be brought to the king: her neighbors shall be brought to thee. They shall be brought with gladness and rejoicing." It is not quite a question of literal representation, however, as there are only three women, one of whom wears a wimple, indicating she is a married woman and not one of the virgins referred to; the text makes no mention of the child, whose short hair indicates that he must be male, not female. More telling for the identification of the women here is the liturgical use of this Psalm as one of the Gradual Psalms for the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (August 15), to which the words from verse 9 are particularly appropriate: "The queen stood on thy right hand, in gilded clothing; surrounded with variety" (citations from the Douai translation of the Bible).
- The cult of Saint Anne is just coming into prominence in this period and region and there are few local parallels; she is not in the Bute Psalter's litany, nor does she figure in litanies of the region before 1300. For the cult in general, see K. Ashley and P. Sheingorn, eds., *Interpreting Cultural Symbols, Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society* (Athens and London, 1990), esp. Introduction, pp. 1–68. An important instance of the cult of Saint Anne in this region is the inclusion of portraits of Joachim and Anne and the Birth of the Virgin as the opening diptych in Madame Marie's picture book, Paris, B. N. F. Ms. n. a. Fr. 16251, fols. 18v–19. See Stones, forthcoming.
63. Kraus (note 54), genealogical table.
 64. Mas Latrie, col. 1612; P. du Guibours, Anselme-de-Sainte-Marie, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France*, 3e ed., 9 vols. (Paris, 1726–33; repr. Paris and New York, 1967), vol. 2, p. 784.

Renoir's *Portrait of Albert Cahen d'Anvers*

KATHLEEN ADLER

In September 1881 Pierre-Auguste Renoir (French, 1841–1919) completed the portrait of the composer and musician Albert Cahen d'Anvers (French, 1846–1903), at his friend and patron Paul Berard's estate at Wargemont, located to the east of Dieppe (fig. 1). The painting is signed and dated *Renoir Wargemont 9. S^{bre}. 81*. Cahen, like Berard, was part of the new circle of patrons Renoir acquired in the late 1870s and 1880s, largely as a result of his introduction to the circle of the publisher Georges Charpentier and his wife, Marguerite. In marked contrast to the early years of Renoir's career, and as the process of meeting Cahen indicates, in this period Renoir became part of an elaborate social network, many of whose members were eager to obtain his services as a portrait painter. He probably met Cahen not directly through the Charpentiers but through their mutual friend the financier and publisher Charles Ephrussi. Théodore Duret recalled that he had taken Renoir to receptions given by Henri Cernuschi, the Orientalist with whom Duret had traveled to Japan, and that it was there that Renoir met Ephrussi, who later introduced him to Cahen's sister-in-law, Louise Cahen d'Anvers.¹

Renoir met Georges Charpentier at an auction at the Hôtel Drouot in 1875. The artist persuaded his French contemporaries Claude Monet, Berthe Morisot, and Alfred Sisley to join him at this auction, which was disastrous in terms of the prices brought in for the works but had far-reaching repercussions in terms of the impact it had on his career.² Soon after the auction, the Charpentiers made a more public proclamation of their patronage of Renoir when they commissioned him to paint their portraits on a panel on the stairwell of their *hôtel* at 35 rue de Grenelle in Paris. This was both their home and the offices of Charpentier's publishing house, the Bibliothèque Charpentier, and Renoir's portraits were seen by all the visitors to the house. At that time, Madame Charpentier was becoming known as one of the leading hostesses in Paris, and she regarded herself

as Renoir's *patronne*. Through her efforts Renoir was introduced to a wide circle of literary figures, musicians, and politicians.

Renoir was notorious for his social awkwardness, but at the Charpentiers, as his biographer Georges Rivière recalled, "He found himself in an intelligent milieu where, by the tact and grace of his hostess, haughtiness and boredom were banished. Here he felt himself understood, encouraged, by the welcome of the friends he met."³ In 1878 the family commissioned Renoir to paint the portrait *Madame Charpentier and Her Children* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). Thanks to the intervention of Madame Charpentier, who vigorously lobbied members of the jury such as the painter Léon Bonnat and influential figures like Ephrussi, not only was the painting accepted at the Salon of 1879 but it was well displayed and frequently mentioned in reviews.⁴ The artist Camille Pissarro reported to the collector Eugène Murer: "Renoir has been a great success at the Salon. I think he has made his mark. So much the better: poverty is so hard."⁵

One goal of ensuring that the painting was a success at the Salon was to further Renoir's career, and, by implication, to endorse the taste and perspicacity of his patrons. The art collection of the Charpentiers consisted mainly of naturalist painting,⁶ and was in many ways an extension of Georges Charpentier's activities as a publisher—he was known especially for publishing the works of writers of the naturalist school, including Émile Zola, Gustave Flaubert, Alphonse Daudet, Edmond de Goncourt, and, less regularly, Guy de Maupassant. Intended to support their credentials as enlightened and forward-looking patrons of the arts in general, both the collection itself and the endorsement of Renoir the Charpentiers gave to their friends opened up new possibilities for the artist. In great part through the efforts of Madame Charpentier Renoir suddenly found himself in demand as a portrait painter, usually being commissioned to paint the portraits of the wives and children of his newfound patrons.

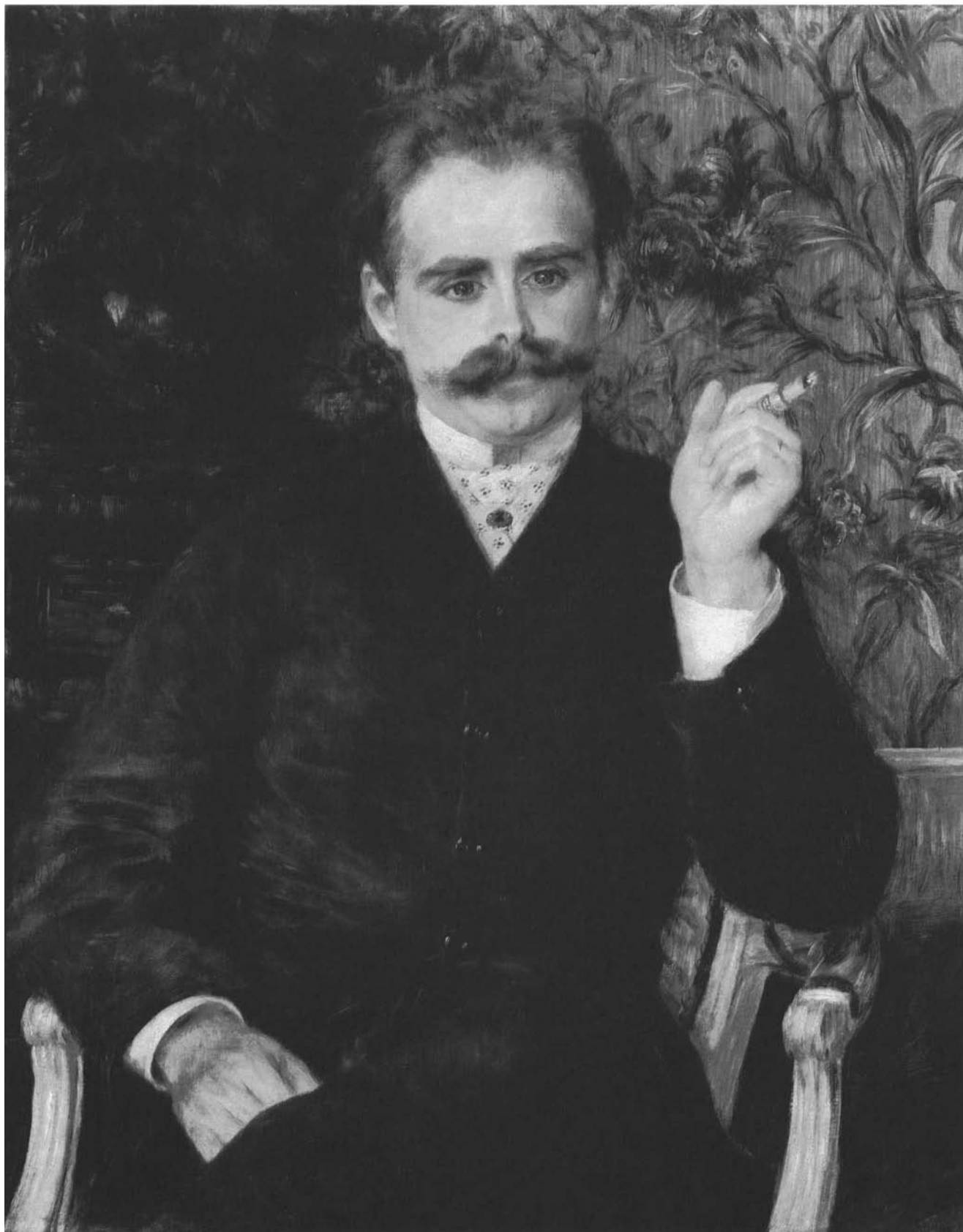


FIGURE 1 Pierre-Auguste Renoir (French, 1841–1919). *Portrait of Albert Cahen d'Anvers*, 1881. Oil on canvas, 79.8 x 63.7 cm (31 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 25 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 88.PA.133.

The reception he achieved at the Salon of 1879 was not repeated in the following year, when his submissions were not displayed so prominently, and were largely ignored by critics.⁷ Although Renoir decided to send only portraits to future Salons, he still believed that recognition at the Salon was a necessary precondition to wider success. He explained his reasons in a letter to his dealer Paul Durand-Ruel, written from Algiers in 1881:

There are in Paris perhaps fifteen *amateurs* capable of appreciating a painting without the Salon. There are 80,000 more who will not buy anything if it has not been in the Salon. . . . I don't want to waste my time resenting the Salon. I don't even want to look as if I do. I think that one should do the best possible painting. That's all. . . . Nothing concerns me at the moment, as usual, but making some good things . . . so just a little patience and I hope to prove to you that it is possible to send to the Salon and to do good painting. I ask you to plead my case with my friends.⁸

While success at the Salon eluded him, Renoir's practice as a portraitist continued to expand.⁹ Nonetheless, he found the business of portraiture difficult and often frustrating. In the spring of 1880 he wrote to Berard: "I must still work on this damned painting because of a high class *cocotte* who was imprudent enough to come to Chatou and want to pose. It has cost me two weeks of delay and in short today I rubbed it out. . . . I don't know where I am anymore, except more and more irritated."¹⁰

Following Ephrussi's introduction of Renoir to Louise Cahen d'Anvers, he was commissioned to paint Irène, the eldest daughter of Albert Cahen's brother, the banker Louis Cahen d'Anvers (fig. 2). The portrait of Irène, who was then eight years old, was completed in two sittings in the summer of 1880 in the garden of the family's Paris house on the rue Bassano, just off the Champs Élysées. Irène is shown in profile, hands clasped on her lap, and the painting is dominated by her profusion of light chestnut hair, which falls over her arms and shoulders like a cape.¹¹

Early in 1881, Renoir embarked on a double portrait of the two younger Cahen d'Anvers sisters—Elisabeth, born in December 1874, and Alice, born February 1876 (fig. 3). The portrait is formal and stiff, with its origins in the seventeenth-century court portraiture of Sir Anthony Van Dyck. Like many wealthy society figures in the Third Republic, the Cahen d'Anvers family looked back to pre-Revolutionary times with nostalgia, and they modeled their own behavior on their perception of eighteenth-century aristocratic life. In Renoir they found an ideal painter in many respects, since he, too, wished to emulate the eighteenth century,

which he believed had an order and stability lost in his own day.¹² He was happy to play the role of "court painter" to Madame Charpentier, sometimes signing his letters to her in a burlesque of ancien régime forms of patronage, and for special occasions, even decorating menus and place cards for her banquets.¹³ As the only member of the Impressionist group who was of working-class origins, Renoir was far more prepared to play the somewhat servile part required by his patrons than any of his colleagues.

Despite this, however, his relationship with the Cahen d'Anvers family proved to be an unhappy one. The portrait of the two girls was not a success: Renoir found it difficult to reconcile his aims as a painter and his wish to include the portrait at the Salon, which made it necessary to produce a likeness. Artist and critic Jacques-Emile Blanche recalled Renoir telling him: "If I rework a head the next day I'm done for; but it's a portrait, it's necessary for a mother to recognise her daughter."¹⁴ Renoir completed the painting shortly before his journey to Algiers in late February 1881. He told Duret that he could not tell whether the portrait was good or bad.¹⁵ His fee for the double portrait was 1,500 francs, but the Cahen d'Anvers did not pay promptly. Writing a year later to his friend Charles Deudon from L'Estaque, where he was recovering from pneumonia, Renoir revealed his displeasure not only with the business of portraiture in general but with his newly acquired circle: "As for the Cahens 1,500 francs, I think I can tell you that I find that pretty stiff. How mean can you get? I really give up with the Jews."¹⁶ Probably part of the reason for the delayed payment was the fact that the Cahens, too, were displeased with the portrait. They did not hang it in any of their rooms, but consigned it to the servants' floor.¹⁷ Years later Alice recalled that the only thing that made the boredom of posing for Renoir tolerable was the pleasure of wearing the lace dress.¹⁸

The difficulties about payment for the double portrait had not yet surfaced when Renoir returned to France from Algiers in April 1881. He immediately recommenced work on *Luncheon of the Boating Party* (The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.), which he had begun late in the summer of 1880. The site of the painting was the Restaurant Fournaise at Chatou on the Seine. The restaurant was frequented by some of the leading figures in the political and financial worlds of Paris and by numerous writers and artists. Regulars included the Rothschilds, Gustave Flaubert, and, above all, Guy de Maupassant.¹⁹ Other frequent visitors were Baron Barbier, a former cavalry officer whom Renoir included in his multigure composition, and Charles Ephrussi.



FIGURE 2 Pierre-Auguste Renoir. *Mlle Irène Cahen d'Anvers*, 1880. Oil on canvas, 63 x 53 cm (25¼ x 21¼ in.). Zurich, Foundation E. G. Bührle Collection.



FIGURE 3 Pierre-Auguste Renoir. *The Cahen d'Anvers Girls*, 1881. Oil on canvas, 119 x 74 cm (47 x 29 in.). São Paulo, Museu de Arte de São Paulo, Assis Chateaubriand.

After completing *Luncheon of the Boating Party*, Renoir went briefly to Wargemont to stay with Berard, and then to Dieppe where he worked with Jacques-Emile Blanche. Durand-Ruel had just purchased a group of his paintings, including *Luncheon of the Boating Party*, for a total of 16,000 francs, making Renoir somewhat financially secure for a time. This was the yacht racing and regatta season, and Dieppe was filled with the sporting and intellectual haute bourgeoisie of Paris, many of whom were now known to Renoir.²⁰ Renoir's patron Berard enjoyed inviting prominent men-about-town who were in Dieppe for the summer season, such as Baron Barbier, to Wargemont, where they mingled with his friends, among both Protestant and Jewish financiers.²¹ Albert Cahen must have been part of this group at Wargemont when Renoir returned there in September.

Cahen managed to combine the dual roles of man-about-town and composer. While he was not a financier like his brother Louis, he was a man of considerable wealth. Born in Paris in 1841, he was thirty-five years old at the time, and had made his professional debut at the Opéra-Comique during the previous year with a production of *Le Bois*. He began his musical career by studying piano with Madame Szarvady, and in the mid-1860s he became one of the first pupils of César Franck (1822–1890). The Belgian-born Franck, renowned as an organist, had started to gather a small group of pupils around him in the years prior to the Franco-Prussian war. As the most devoted of these pupils, Vincent d'Indy later recalled, the first to work with Franck were Cahen, Arthur Coquard, and Henri Duparc, followed by a cavalry officer, Alexis de Castillon. From 1872 the band of pupils grew in size to include Indy, Camille Benoît, Ernest Chausson, and the female composer Augusta Holmès. Franck was a gifted teacher who listened to his pupils with intense concentration and had the ability to bring out the best in them by insisting that they produce only work of the highest quality. He inspired devotion in the circle of students. The critic Louis de Fourcaud observed: "In our school, we have many great musicians, but we have only one saint: César Franck. He is a true saint of music—a French and modern Bach."²² Indy, after his master's death, wrote of the pupils:

These, and these only, knew the master intimately and were able to assimilate his innermost thoughts and his invigorating counsels; they alone knew what César Franck's lessons in composition actually were: a community of effort on the part of the master and pupils directed to one identical aim—Art. They alone could bear witness to that almost supernatural communion of

spirit which passed like an electric current between themselves and the composer of *The Beatitudes*.²³

Cahen's earliest work, dating from the first period of his pupilage with Franck, was a group of songs set to poetry by Alfred de Musset. His first important piece was a "biblical drama," *Jean le Précurseur*, which was performed at the Concerts Nationaux in 1874. One of his most ambitious works was *Endymion, a poème mythologique* in three scenes with a libretto by Louis Gallet. First performed at the Concerts Populaires in March 1883, *Endymion* was praised by the critic Louis de Romain, who wrote that the pantheism of the piece had its charm and grandeur, and that such myths offered the musician a vast field in which to let the imagination run free. He believed that the amorous legend of Endymion would bring happiness to Cahen.²⁴ Other critics evidently did not concur, and Cahen was disappointed by the reception the work received.²⁵ Cahen's best-known work was the opera *Le Vénitien*, which was also a collaboration with Gallet. It was performed for the first time in Rouen in April 1890, at a performance attended by César Franck. With characteristic generosity, Franck wrote to Cahen: "The evening on Monday was one of the best of my musical life."²⁶ Franck died soon afterward, and Cahen was present at the funeral.

Among Franck's pupils, the fact that Cahen was Jewish made him an exception. Franck was a devoted Catholic and a church organist, although he maintained good relations with musicians in synagogues, and Cahen himself put Indy in touch with Samuel Naumbourg, the rabbi of a Paris synagogue.²⁷ Following Franck's death, however, Cahen became disillusioned with the lack of success of his work, particularly when his last stage work, *La Femme de Claude*, was coolly received. With the rise of anti-Semitism in France, following first the Panama Canal scandal and then the Dreyfus Affair, Indy turned against Cahen, who then dropped out of what had been a close circle of friends and colleagues.²⁸

Cahen must always have been something of an outsider in the group, not only because he was a Jew but because Franck's pupils are often described going about their vocations as composers with an almost monklike devotion, seeking "escape from the shallow values of the metropolis, being anxious to repair to a place of artistic sanctuary where they could mature their gifts in peace and silence."²⁹ Cahen's circle of socialite friends and relatives were far from monklike: his brother Louis and Louis's wife, Louise, were well-known figures on the Parisian social scene, and when Albert Cahen married Lulia Warchawska, a highborn Polish émigré, in the 1880s, he joined one of Paris's most fashionable circles.

Lulia and her sister, Marie, had been neighbors of the Charpentiers on the rue de Grenelle, the part of Paris that was then the focus of the merging worlds of finance and art. They were part of a vibrant social scene, the *salons juives* of the 1880s, which was regarded by writers like Edmond de Goncourt as simultaneously compelling and repulsive. These salons were places of particular significance for writers, for it was here that the influential and wealthy tastemakers of the day mingled with the remains of the aristocracy. Lulia was a well-known *salonnière*, whom Goncourt described as “la petite perfection,”³⁰ and Marie, who married the banker Kann, was oftentimes the object of Goncourt’s fascination. Marie was said to be “of a quasi-oriental nobility,” a characteristic description of *la Juive* at this period, which evokes both their allure and their otherness.³¹

Like many other society women of the day, including the Russian naturalist painter Marie Bashkirtseff (1860–1884), Marie Kann was one of Guy de Maupassant’s mistresses. She was known for her exceptionally heavy and macabre makeup, for her air of nervous excitement, for her seductive ways, and for the fact that she used drugs, either morphine or ether.³² Cahen’s sister-in-law, Louise (the former Louise Morpurgo), was equally notorious. Goncourt described her as a Medusa figure, the curls around her head appearing to him like a nest of snakes.³³ Both Louise Cahen d’Anvers and Marie Kann were at one time the mistresses of the novelist Paul Bourget. Kann’s affair with Bourget ended when her husband demanded that she choose either him (and his money) or Bourget. She preferred her husband’s riches, but this did not stop her liaison with de Maupassant. Maupassant and Bourget were intrigued by how different these Jewish society figures were from their Protestant counterparts. Like the historian Michelet, they saw Jewesses as the inheritors of the tradition of sorcery, dark and mysterious.³⁴ But these writers themselves have been described as “the invention of ‘high-life’ Jewesses, thirsty for something celestial in flavour, feudal in reminiscence, and slightly anti-Semitic.”³⁵ In his novel *Mont-Oriol* Maupassant described France of the 1880s as “the new Zion,” and the Jews as the people who, persecuted before the Revolution, now oppressed others by the power of their money.³⁶

Cahen was a close friend of both Maupassant and Bourget. One of his best remembered compositions is *Marines*, a collection of seven melodies on poems by Bourget. In the last months of Maupassant’s life in 1893, when he was confined to the asylum in Passy where he died at the age of forty-two, Cahen was one of only

three people in addition to his butler, François, whom he would agree to see.³⁷

Like Maupassant and Bourget, Cahen was evidently a great dandy, and it is as such that Renoir portrayed him. In the painting he is seated on a white chair covered with blue and white fabric and positioned against an elaborately patterned flowered wallpaper. The dominance of the background patterning appears to thrust him forward, almost into the spectator’s space, and the sense of immediacy and direct physical presence that this conveys is enhanced by the pose, with the left leg crossed over the right and the right hand partially masked by the jutting left knee. The pose indicates a sense of informality and relaxation, but also one of assurance. Although Renoir had used a variant of this pose a year previously in his portrait of Berard (1880, private collection), in that portrait the sitter is at an angle to the picture plane and looks out of the picture to his left, whereas the pose in the portrait of Cahen is striking in its frontality, with the cravat pin and the line of suit buttons almost bisecting the canvas. Cahen’s moustache dominates his face. Facial hair was regarded as a powerful indicator of male sexuality: in Maupassant’s famous novel *Bel-Ami*, first published in 1885, the hero, Georges Duroy, is distinguished by his moustache, “a luxuriant moustache, crisp and curled and elegant, fair with a tint of red in it, but shading off into auburn at the points.”³⁸ Cahen’s moustache is equally elegant, and it presents both a striking contrast and a counterpoint to the luxuriantly curling vegetation on the wallpaper just behind his head. Renoir frequently represented his male sitters smoking cigarettes; here, the elaborate cigarette holder firmly clenched in the left hand, like the moustache, serves to emphasize the sitter’s masculinity and authority, and to contrast with the elaborately flowered background, suggestive of the feminine and the domestic.³⁹

The opulence of this wallpaper is so assertive that it might be said that Renoir sets up a tension between the markers of masculinity—the moustache, the cigarette holder, the aggressively forward-jutting knee—and the world of artifice and femininity that surrounds the figure. The obtrusiveness of the background is unusual in a portrait of a male sitter. Renoir’s portraits of female sitters often include references to a setting that serves to position them in terms of wealth and status, as, for example, in *Madame Charpentier and Her Children*, or make a connection between women and nature, as in the portrait of Irène Cahen d’Anvers. Here the background complements the attention to detail of every aspect of Cahen’s appearance, and perhaps serves as a reminder of



FIGURE 4 Pierre-Auguste Renoir. *Sketches of Heads (The Berard Children)*, 1881. Oil on canvas, 62 x 83 cm (24½ x 32½ in.) Williamstown, Massachusetts, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 590.

his creativity, a reference to his profession of composer.

It should be remembered, however, that the setting is not Cahen's own home but that of his host, Paul Berard. The chateau at Wargemont was substantial, and several of the rooms were adorned with decorations painted by Renoir.⁴⁰ Both Berard and Cahen shared a taste for luxury that accords with the revival of the ideals of the *ancien régime*, often represented by a withdrawal from the public world into the private space of the Rococo boudoir.⁴¹ In this portrait Cahen is shown within just such an intimate and decorative space. The portrait is distinguished from the many portraits Renoir painted of the Berard family at Wargemont at this time by its assertiveness and the air of easy command that Cahen assumes. Exactly contemporary with another of Renoir's works, *Sketches of Heads (The Berard Children)* (fig. 4; Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Mass.), the portrait of Cahen is completely

different in both technique and intention. In it Renoir strives for the combination of freedom of brushwork and precision of detailing of the features that he deemed necessary for his practice as a portraitist, and which led to his reassessment of his technique and his links with the traditions of Old Master paintings, particularly the art of Raphael.⁴²

In order to be accepted by a sitter like Cahen Renoir had to work within a recognizable style—and for the Cahens, Léon Bonnat (1833–1922) was the favored artist. Both Lulia and her sister were painted by Bonnat, who was celebrated for his portraits of leading members of French society.⁴³ Although most histories of nineteenth-century art would seem to locate Bonnat, a prominent academic painter, and Renoir, usually described as a leading member of an avant-garde group, in totally irreconcilable positions, Renoir envied Bonnat's influential position and success. In 1882 he wrote with

heavy irony to Berard: "Now I'm delighted with what is happening to me. I'm going to get back on the right path and I'm going to enlist in Bonnat's studio. In a year or two I'll be able to make 30,000,000,000,000 francs a year. Don't talk to me any more about portraits in the sunlight. Nice black backgrounds, that's the real thing."⁴⁴

A change of direction in Renoir's art is evident in the Cahen portrait. It was executed at a point in Renoir's career when he had invested in the hope that success as a portraitist would mean success at the Salon. Only a year later his uncertainty about the likelihood of achieving his aims through portraiture and his increasingly overt anti-Semitism meant that painting portraits no longer appeared to Renoir to represent a route to recognition. From L'Estaque in February 1882 he lashed out at the allegedly radical politics of the Jews in the draft of a letter to Durand-Ruel, declaring angrily: "To exhibit with the Jew Pissarro means revolution."⁴⁵ At the same time, writing to Berard to discuss what he should send to the Salon, he derided the bourgeois views of his old supporter, Ephrussi: "Don't take my advice and listen to Ephrussey [sic], that Jew. Super-bourgeois, he has the right eye for what is called the (beauty) Salon."⁴⁶ These views on Jews, effortlessly able to accommodate contradictory positions in a manner characteristic of anti-Semitism,⁴⁷ combined with the dissatisfaction he expressed specifically about the Cahen d'Anvers family in his letter to Deudon of 1882, ensured that Renoir's involvement with the fashionable world of Jewish high society was a brief one, with the portrait of Albert Cahen marking a rare moment of success.

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National Gallery, London.*

NOTES

1. T. Duret, *Renoir* (Paris, 1924), p. 62.
2. Details of the auction are provided in M. Bodelsen, "Early Impressionist Sales 1874-94 in the Light of Some Unpublished 'Procès-verbaux,'" *Burlington Magazine* 110 (June 1968), pp. 331-49. The twenty works by Renoir at this auction brought in between 50 and 300 francs.
3. Quoted in M. Florisoone, "Renoir et la famille Charpentier," *L'Amour de l'art* 19 (February 1938), p. 31.
4. For a more detailed discussion of Renoir's relationship with his patrons and the Charpentiers in particular, see K. Adler, "Renoir, His Patrons and His Dealer," in *Renoir Master Impressionist*, ed. J. House (Sydney, 1994), pp. 29-39.
5. C. Pissarro, *Correspondance de Camille Pissarro, Vol. 1, 1865-1885*, ed. J. Bailly-Herzberg (Paris, 1980), p. 133.
6. The sale catalogue at the Hôtel Drouot dated April 11, 1907, after the death of Madame Charpentier in 1904 and her husband in the following year, includes two works by Renoir (one of which was *Portrait of Madame Charpentier and Her Children*), one by Paul Cézanne, two by Monet, one by Jean-Jacques Henner, and one by Alfred Philippe Roll among the paintings; and watercolors, pastels, and drawings by Edgar Degas, Marcellin Desboutsin, Henri Fantin-Latour, Jean-Louis Forain, Henner, Monet, Giuseppe de Nittis, Camille Pissarro, Pierre-Cécile Puvis de Chavannes, Renoir, John Singer Sargent, and Sisley. It is evident that as of this date at least a portion of the collection had already been dispersed.
7. Renoir exhibited two paintings: *The Mussel Fishers at Berneval* (Barnes Collection, Merion, Pa.) and *Sleeping Girl with a Cat* (Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Mass.).
8. Letter from Renoir to Paul Durand-Ruel, Algiers, 1881, in L. Venturi, *Les Archives de l'impressionnisme* (Paris, 1939), vol. 1, pp. 115-16.
9. Paul Cézanne wrote to Émile Zola, July 4, 1880: "Renoir is supposed to have some good portrait commissions"; P. Cézanne, *Paul Cézanne Correspondance*, ed. J. Rewald (Paris, 1937), p. 173.
10. Letter from Renoir to Paul Berard, 1880, in M. Berard, "Lettres de Renoir à Paul Berard," *La Revue de Paris* (1968), pp. 4-5.
11. The portrait was included in Renoir's first one-man show at the Galerie Durand-Ruel in 1883, one of twenty-five portraits included among the seventy paintings on view. It was later inherited by Irène Cahen d'Anvers, who became the Comtesse de Sampieri.
12. Jean Renoir recalled that his father frequently referred to his admiration for the eighteenth century. See, for example, J. Renoir, *Renoir, My Father* (London, 1962), pp. 12-18, 100-1, 222, 382-83.
13. See, for example, his letter to Madame Charpentier of November 30, 1879, and the subsequent letter, dated only "Mercredi" and signed *Le plus dévoué des peintres ordinaires, Renoir* (Florisoone [note 3], p. 35). The menus and place cards are illustrated in M. Robida, *Le Salon Charpentier et les impressionnistes* (Paris, 1958), figs. 10, 11.
14. J.-E. Blanche, "Renoir portraitiste," *L'Art vivant* (July 1933), p. 292.
15. Letter from Renoir to Duret, Algiers, March 4, 1881, in Galerie d'Art Braun, *L'Impressionnisme et quelques précurseurs*, exh. cat. (Galerie d'Art Braun, Paris, 1932), p. 11.
16. Letter to from Renoir to Charles Deudon, L'Estaque, February 19, 1882, in M. Schneider, "Lettres de Renoir sur l'Italie," *L'Age d'Or—Etudes 1* (Paris, 1945), p. 99. B. Ehrlich White, in *Renoir*,

- His Life, Art, and Letters* (New York, 1984), associates this letter with the portrait of Albert Cahen, but given the plural reference to "the Cahens," it seems more likely that it refers to Louis and Louise Cahen d'Anvers.
17. It was found on the servants' floor by the dealers Bernheim around 1899, after Renoir told them where to find commissioned portraits by him, and it was lent by Madame Cahen d'Anvers to the exhibition of works by Renoir at the Galerie Bernheim-Jeune et Fils in Paris in January 1900. Shortly afterward, the Bernheims bought it for their private collection. See H. Dauberville, *La Bataille de l'impressionnisme* (Paris, 1967), p. 552.
 18. P. Jullian, "'Rose' de Renoir retrouvée par Philippe Jullian," *Figaro Littéraire* (December 22, 1962), quoted in J. House, A. Distel, and L. Gowing, *Renoir*, exh. cat. (Arts Council of Great Britain, London, 1985), p. 224.
 19. M. Catinat, *Les Bords de la Seine avec Renoir et Maupassant* (Chatou, 1952), p. 15.
 20. On Dieppe, see J. Willett, A. Gruetzner Robins, and S. Bowness, *The Dieppe Connection: The Town and Its Artists from Turner to Braque*, exh. cat. (Brighton Museum and Art Gallery, 1992).
 21. J.-E. Blanche, *Portraits of a Lifetime* (London, 1937), p. 39.
 22. L. Gallet, *Notes d'un librettiste* (Paris, 1891), p. 311.
 23. V. d'Indy, *César Franck* (London, 1910), p. 254.
 24. L. de Romain, *Essais de Critique Musicale* (Paris, 1890), p. 105.
 25. According to the entry in *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (ed. S. Sadie [London, 1980], vol. 3, pp. 604–5), *Endymion* was first performed in 1875. This does not appear to be correct, however, according to the date of performance on the manuscript.
 26. L. Lallas, *La Véritable histoire de César Franck* (Paris, 1955), p. 281.
 27. *Ibid.*, p. 311.
 28. L. Davies, *César Franck and His Circle* (London, 1970), p. 138.
 29. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
 30. J. and E. de Goncourt, *Le Journal des Goncourt*, ed. R. Ricatte (Paris, 1956), vol. 3, p. 140.
 31. André Vial described Marie as "D'une noblesse quasi-orientale," quoted in A. Lanoux, *Maupassant le bel-ami* (Paris, 1967), p. 262. On the "oriental princess" as a prevailing stereotype, see C. Ockman, "'Two large eyebrows à l'orientale': Ethnic stereotyping in Ingres's *Baronne de Rothschild*," *Art History* 14, no. 4 (December 1991), pp. 521–39.
 32. The entry in Edmond de Goncourt's *Journal* (note 30), vol. 3, p. 505, January 17, 1894, reads: "This evening, I dined at the Princess at the side of Madame Kann, the Jewess with the face of porcelain, of the feverish conversation, perhaps heightened by either morphine or ether."
 33. De Goncourt (note 30), vol. 3, p. 66.
 34. The Jewish heroine of Maupassant's *L'Inconnue* is described as "black as the night." On Maupassant's and Bourget's involvement with Jewish circles, see Lanoux (note 31), pp. 259–69.
 35. P. Ignatus, *The Paradox of Maupassant* (London, 1966), p. 201.
 36. Quoted in P. Morand, *Vie de Guy de Maupassant* (Paris, 1924), p. 121.
 37. The others were his publisher Gustave Ollendorff and the writer Henry Fouquier.
 38. G. de Maupassant, *Bel-Ami*, trans. E. Sutton (London, 1948), p. 30.
 39. For example, the male figure in *After Lunch* (1879, Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt); the figure in the right-hand foreground of *Luncheon of the Boating Party* (for whom the model was Gustave Caillebotte); and the portrait of Berard (1880, private collection, France). A year after the portrait of Cahen, the double portrait of Charles and Georges Durand-Ruel (1882, Collection Durand-Ruel, Paris) uses the device of the cigarette holder in a very similar way to that of the present portrait, that is, to convey a sense of masculinity and authority.
 40. For a discussion of Berard's chateau at Wargemont, see M. Berard, *Renoir à Wargemont* (Paris, 1939); F. Daulte, *Renoir* (London, 1972). Renoir completed some of his decorations for the house during the summer of 1881, including the still lifes in the dining room.
 41. Anthea Callen discusses this in relation to Renoir in "Renoir: The Matter of Gender," in House (note 4), pp. 41–51. See also D. L. Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France: Politics, Psychology and Style* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1989).
 42. Renoir summed up his position at this time when he told the dealer Ambroise Vollard many years later: "I had reached the end of Impressionism, and I had reached the conclusion that I did not know either how to paint or draw. In a word, Impressionism was a blind alley as far as I was concerned." A. Vollard, *En écoutant Cézanne, Degas, Renoir* (Paris, 1938), p. 213.
 43. The portraits are in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne.
 44. Unpublished letter from Renoir to Berard in the Collection Durand-Ruel, quoted in Ehrlich White (note 16), p. 127.
 45. Draft letter from Renoir to Durand-Ruel, L'Estaque, February 26, 1882, quoted in Venturi (note 8), p. 122.
 46. Unpublished letter from Renoir to Berard, Algiers, March 1882, in the Collection Christian Renaudau d'Arc, Wargemont, quoted in Ehrlich White (note 16), p. 124.
 47. Sander Gilman has observed that inherent in stereotypical thinking is "the ability to hold simultaneously two (or more) images of the Other." These images may be totally at odds with each other, and they shift and change freely, because they all reflect projections of anxiety; S. Gilman, *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness* (Ithaca and London, 1985), p. 22.

Leo von Klenze's *View of Massa di Carrara*: *Denkmalandschaft* and the Architect as Painter

JENNIFER HELVEY

Leo von Klenze (1784–1864) is best known for his work as the chief architect and head of public works in Munich in the mid-nineteenth century. Having studied architecture in Berlin, he began his career in 1808 working in Kassel for Napoleon's brother, King Jérôme of Westphalia (r. 1807–13). After the fall of the Napoleonic Empire, Klenze was brought to Munich by Ludwig I (r. 1825–48), then prince and later king of Bavaria, who admired Klenze's abilities and enthusiasm for classical art and architecture. While generally working in a stringently classicizing mode, he was able to vary his style from Renaissance to Romanesque revival as deemed appropriate to the structure or according to the whim of Ludwig I. Major works by Klenze located outside of Bavaria include the Hermitage, an addition to the Winter Palace in Saint Petersburg, and the Dionysosbasilika in Athens. In addition to his architectural responsibilities Klenze traveled in a diplomatic capacity to Germany, Greece, Russia, and France. He also acted as an art agent for Ludwig I, collecting antiquities for the royal collection.¹ His extensive circle of friends and acquaintances included prominent artists of the day, such as Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781–1841), Carl Rottmann (1797–1850), and Bertel Thorvaldsen (1768–1884), as well as political and literary figures, such as Czar Nicholas I (r. 1825–55) and Goethe (1749–1832). In addition to these interests and responsibilities he was also a painter who generally focused his abilities on landscapes.

With two major exceptions, Klenze's work as a painter has been largely overlooked, especially outside of Germany. A brief chapter and list of paintings appear in Oswald Hederer's fundamental biography of the architect,² and an exhibition devoted to his drawing and painting oeuvre took place in Munich in 1977–78, resulting in a monograph in 1979.³ From documents, notes, and sketches, Florian Hufnagel and Norbert Lieb number Klenze's oeuvre at seventy-nine paintings, which span the years from 1825 to 1863, with somewhere between thirty-eight and forty-one works believed

extant. The majority of these works remain in private collections in Germany, with a number in major German public collections.⁴ In 1986 the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired Klenze's *Italian Landscape—View of Massa di Carrara* (fig. 1), one of his finest paintings, and perhaps the only one that exists in the United States.⁵ This work had been in the Klenze family until the time of its purchase by the Getty Museum. Much of the artist's painterly production seems to have remained in his possession and later passed through various branches of the family. Whether works that entered other collections, often those of major political, social, and artistic figures, were simply gifts or whether they were commissions remains unknown.⁶ Painting for Klenze was not entirely a hobby or private enterprise; his paintings were in the royal collection as well as those of ministers of state, and he sent his works to public exhibitions in Munich, Berlin, Leipzig, Hannover, and Dresden.⁷ He often painted on an ambitious scale with equally ambitious subjects aimed at the stature of history painting. *Athen im Altertum*, for example, re-creates the city of Athens in ancient times, complete with some of its noble citizens.⁸ Although he referred to painting as his "bad habit,"⁹ Klenze seems to have taken this part of his artistic activities very seriously, not just in the claims he made for it through scale, subject, and exhibition but also in extensive preparation.

In 1827 Klenze embarked on one of the twenty-six trips to Italy he would make during his lifetime, traveling this time from Paris to southern France and along Italy's northwestern coast. Throughout this trip he made a number of sketches and notes of buildings, landscapes, and, on occasion, people. Toward late May or early June he stopped in Massa di Carrara.

Massa lies on the northwest coast of Italy, south of Genova and La Spezia. Although it is a rather small town, Massa has had many important visitors, such as Prince Metternich, Marie Louise of Austria, and Archduke Ranieri.¹⁰ A number of artists were also attracted



FIGURE 1 Leo von Klenze (German, 1784–1864). *Italian Landscape—View of Massa di Carrara*, 1834. Oil on canvas, 76.9 x 101 cm (30¼ x 39¾ in.). Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.PA.540.

to the area. Klenze knew a few of these artists personally, and his visit may have been the result of a recommendation. Ernst Fries (1801–1833) sketched Massa in May and June of 1825. While living in Munich from 1829 until 1831, Fries produced oil paintings after his Italian studies, such as this one of Massa in the Reinhart collection (fig. 2). Klenze was acquainted with the younger artist Fries and even owned one of his paintings.¹¹ Carl Rottmann visited Massa in 1826 and wrote letters home extolling the beauty and perfection of the region.¹² Unfortunately, none of his work from Massa appears to have survived. It seems likely, however, that it was Rottmann who suggested this spot to Klenze, as they were in close communication at the time; Klenze commissioned from Rottmann some wall murals for public buildings and also privately purchased a few of his paintings in these

years. Thorvaldsen, with whom Klenze collaborated on projects in Munich, was associated with the Academia of the nearby town of Carrara from as early as 1818, when he was made an honorary professor. In addition much of the marble used for the buildings Klenze designed came from the famous quarries of Carrara, which probably spurred his interest in the area.

Sketching trips of Italy, however, were hardly uncommon. Making drawings as mementos of one's grand tour had become a natural part of dilettante travel by the mid- to late eighteenth century, with Italy as a primary destination.¹³ Considered vital for the educated traveler as the repository of remains of Greek and Roman antiquity, as well as that of the Renaissance, the Italian countryside also began to be appreciated for its natural beauty. Goethe's travels in and writings about

Italy at the end of the eighteenth century not only helped to spread the popularity of tourism in Italy but were themselves symptomatic of the standing tradition. For German artists of the first half of the nineteenth century, particularly those artists in the circle of Ludwig I of Bavaria, Rome was a focal point of artistic activity; many of them moved there permanently.¹⁴ Sketching the Italian countryside en plein air was increasingly important to an artist's development and working process. Jacob Philipp Hackert (1737–1807), a German and the leading landscape painter in Italy during the late eighteenth century, was well known for his remarkably large, highly finished, botanically accurate outdoor sketches from which he created his paintings.¹⁵ Klenze's numerous sketches and detailed drawings, including those of Massa, made primarily during his extensive travels and now preserved in Munich in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, the Staatsbibliothek, and the Stadtmuseum, participate in this fascination with Italy and the immediate recording of its *campagna*, or countryside.

In addition to such practical attention to landscape painting the turn of the century saw a general rise in the genre's prestige and popularity.¹⁶ Theoretical texts, such as Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes's *Eléments de Perspective pratique à l'usage des Artistes* of 1800 in France and Salomon Geßner's *Brief über die Landschaftsmalerei an Herrn Füßlin* of 1770 in Germany and Switzerland, in which the greater heroic and spiritual possibilities of landscape painting were put forth, appeared with growing frequency.¹⁷ The examples of Nicolas Poussin (1593/94–1665) and Claude Lorraine (1600–1682) were raised as a measure of these



FIGURE 2 Ernst Fries (German, 1801–1833). *View of Massa di Carrara*, 1830. Oil on canvas, 46.5 x 61.5 cm (18½ x 24½ in.). Winterthur, Stiftung Oskar Reinhart.

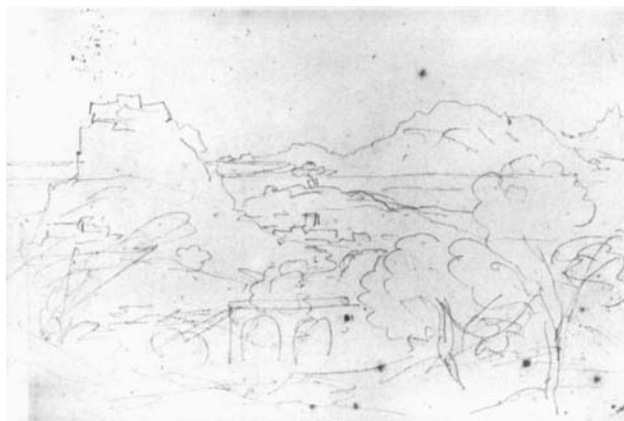


FIGURE 3 Leo von Klenze. *Massa di Carrara*, 1827. From Sketchbook 3, p. 43r. Pencil on paper, 20.5 x 13.5 cm (8⅛ x 5½ in.). Munich, Stadtmuseum Xh:170.

possibilities. The representation of the Italian *campagna* and its architecture contributed to the nobility of the paintings of artists such as Joseph Anton Koch (1768–1839) and Valenciennes (1750–1819), which attempted to vie, often without the benefit of narrative, with history painting. Klenze's *View of Massa* belongs to this realm of Neoclassical landscape painting, which is intended to be something more than a pale reflection of nature.

The way in which material gathered from the field was used in the creation of the final painting varied from artist to artist. When the Getty painting was published in the monograph of 1979, two sketches were associated with it (figs. 3 and 5).¹⁸ The authors' suggestion was, and this is followed in the notes in the museum's files, that the sketchier drawing (fig. 3) was made on site and that Klenze then tried rearranging the landscape in the more finished drawing (fig. 5). The sketch (fig. 3) is described as a *Vorlage*, or study, for the larger drawing (fig. 5).¹⁹ It is further suggested that in developing the image from the sketch to the drawing, Klenze played freely with the landscape, moving the *castello*, or castle, from the left to the right-center. When it came time to paint the final work years later, according to this theory, he went back to his original thought but inverted the *castello* when moving the image from paper to canvas.²⁰ A visit to Massa and a perusal of both a sketchbook and other drawings dating from his trip of 1827 revealed a clearer picture of Klenze's working method. The sketch was probably completed on site (compare to fig. 4)—but as for the more finished drawing, Klenze did not move the *castello* and hill; he moved himself.

Massa has an amphitheater-shaped rim of mountainous hills surrounding about two-thirds of the city.



FIGURE 4 Massa di Carrara from west mountains, February 1994. Photo by the author.

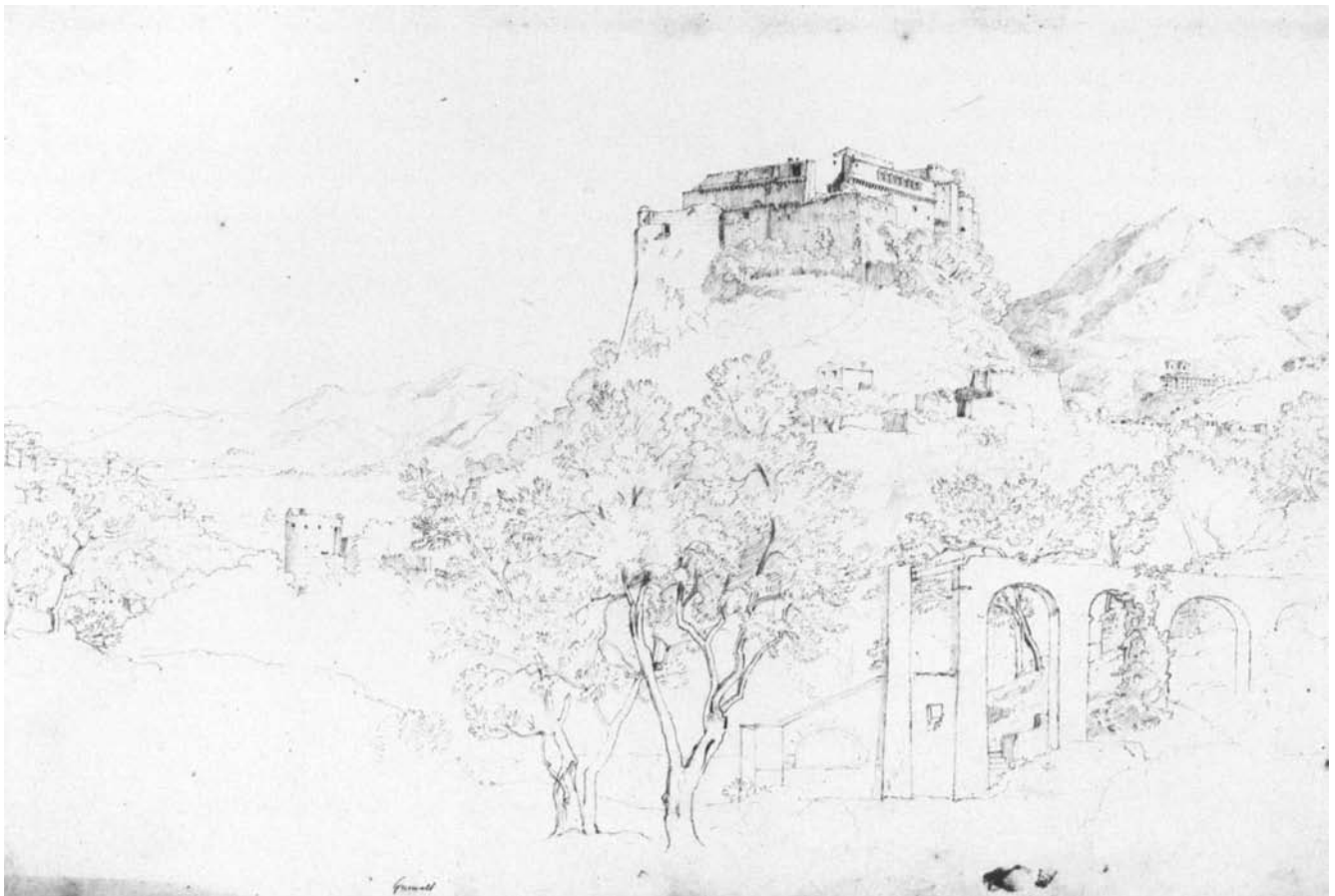


FIGURE 5 Leo von Klenze. *Massa di Carrara*. Pencil on paper, 34.6 x 51.8 cm (13 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.). Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung 27713.

In the middle of this bowl, closer to the hills than the ocean, rises the rocky outcropping on which the sixteenth-century Castello Malaspina stands. Klenze moved himself around these hillsides and valley, making multiple sketches of sections of the landscape and their various relationships. The drawings that result from this campaign come from two sources: a small, pocket-sized sketchbook and large-format paper.²¹

Two drawings of the large format can be identified as depictions of Massa. The first, as previously noted, was published as a study for the Getty painting in 1979 (fig. 5). A comparison with a recent photograph of the *castello* from the southern hills (figs. 6a–b) demonstrates that this meticulous, accurate drawing must have been done on site, but from a different viewpoint than the looser sketch. The position of the *castello*, its relationship to the hill on which it stands, to the small, round tower at the left, and to the rest of the landscape, all correspond to a viewpoint located on the hills just to the south of the *castello*. The aqueduct has been described as a compositional invention; a cadastral document from 1804, however, records its presence in the area described in this drawing.²² A second large drawing can also be identified as part of this Massa drawing campaign, although it was made from a very different viewpoint, an area within the valley just north of the *castello*, and depicts the mountains to the northeast of la Rocca and the *castello*.²³ This drawing does not appear to have been used for the Getty Museum's painting.²⁴

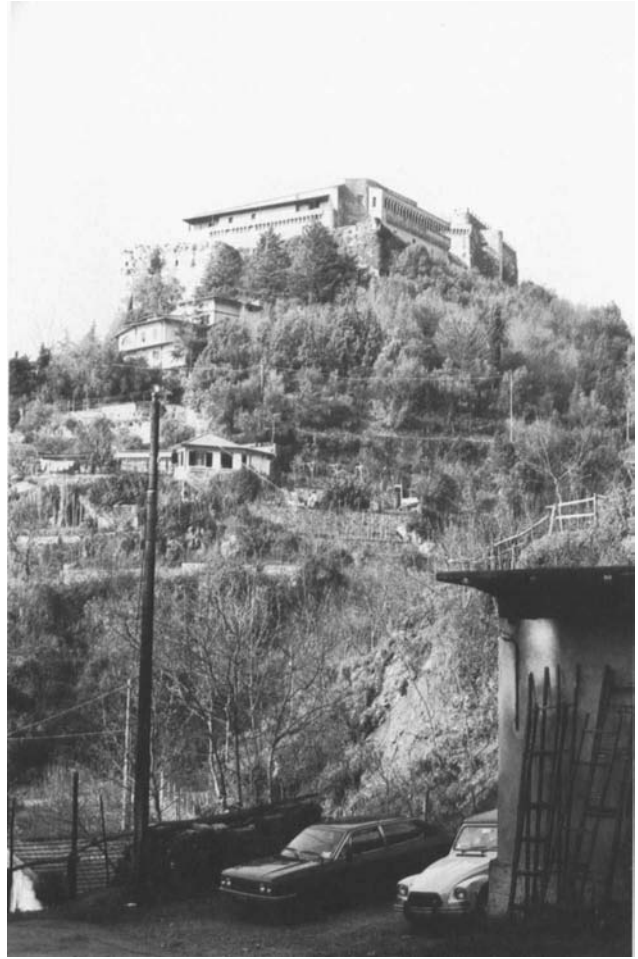


FIGURE 6A



FIGURE 6B Massa di Carrara and the Castello Malaspina from the south, February 1994. Photos by the author.

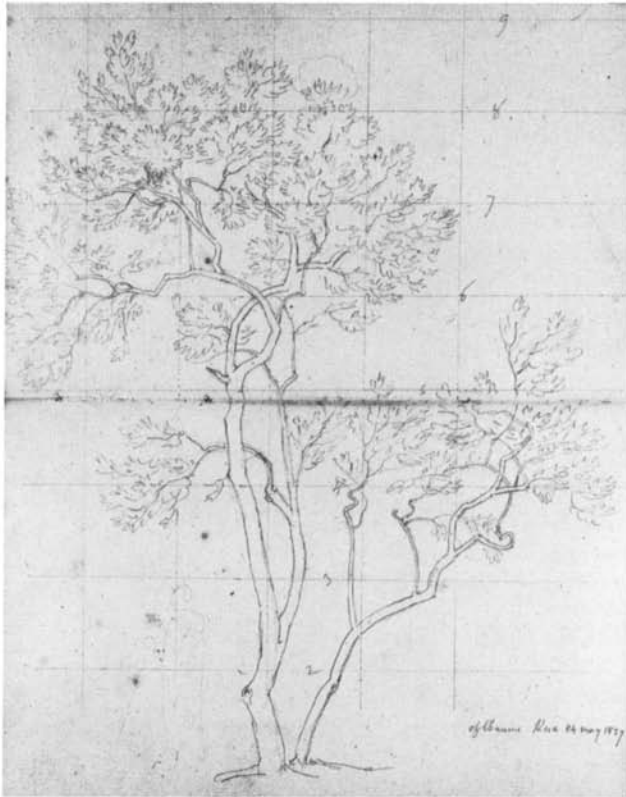


FIGURE 7 Leo von Klenze. *Olive Tree, Riva*, May 24, 1827. From Sketchbook 3, pp. 27v and 28r. Pencil on paper, 20.5 x 27 cm (8 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.). Munich, Stadtmuseum Xh:170.

In addition to the previously published sketch (fig. 3) five other sketches from the same small book were used by Klenze in the creation of the Getty painting. Of these drawings, some were made in Massa and some were not. Those few dates that appear on pages of the sketchbook generally do so chronologically, and inscribed locations correspond to a southerly progression, encouraging the viewer to assume that he used the pages in order. As there are blank pages between some of the drawings, however, the choice of page also may have been random at times.

For some details in the painting, Klenze used drawings executed on the same trip, but at sites somewhat distant from Massa. A double-page study of an olive tree, including the faint drawing of a monk, was used for the tree appearing on the right-hand side of the painting (fig. 7). Squared and numbered, this drawing is inscribed, in German, *Olive Tree, Riva*, and is dated

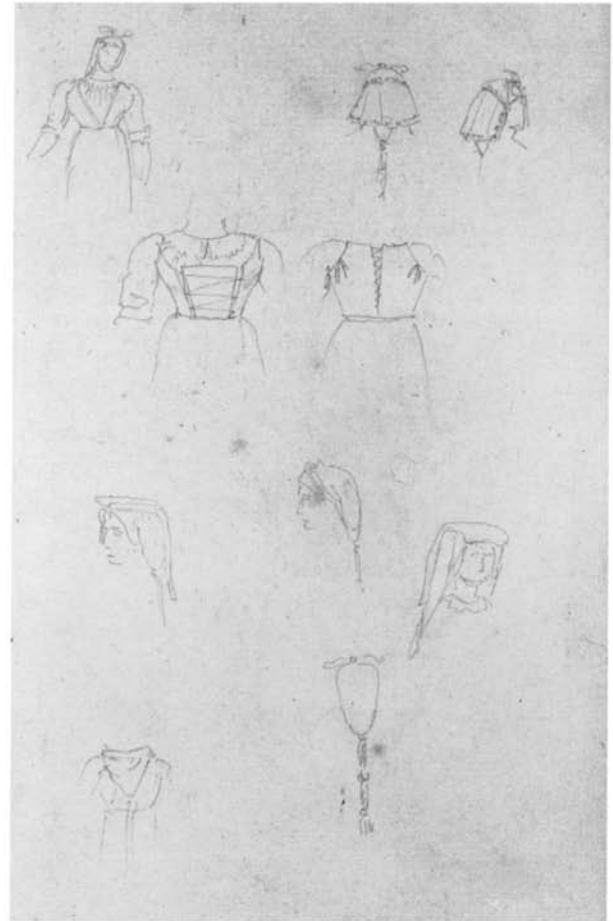


FIGURE 8 Leo von Klenze. *Figure Studies*. From Sketchbook 3, p. 30r. Pencil on paper, 20.5 x 13.5 cm (8 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.). Munich, Stadtmuseum Xh:170.

24 May 1827. Riva is a small town north of Genova on the coast of Italy, near Impéria, toward the border of France. In using this image for the painting Klenze “trimmed” the tree a bit and elongated the main trunk, allowing the structure of the aqueduct to be more clearly shown. Another page contains figure studies of female Italian peasant dress (fig. 8). The headdress on the right in the third row from the top of this group of little sketches may be the source for that of the woman standing to the left in the center group, while the headdress of the seated mother appears to be based on the head on the far left in the same row.²⁵ A second tree study, inscribed again in German *Olive Tree* and dated 26 May, may be related to the painting’s left tree (fig. 9). If this sketch was used in creating this tree, the left side was shifted to the right, behind the other trunk, and some changes were made in the upper branches. The locations for these last two drawings are not indicated; but as it seems unlikely

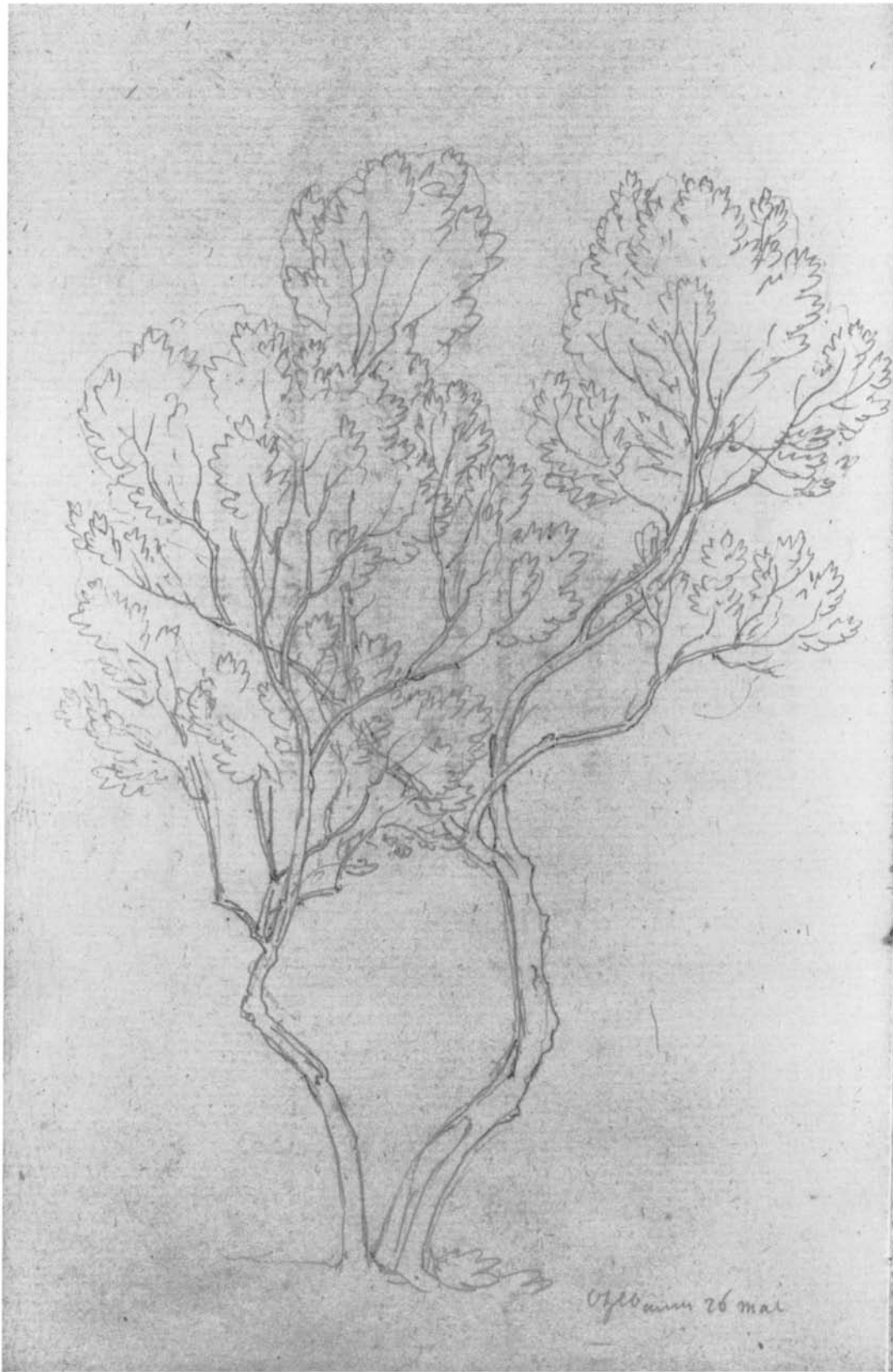


FIGURE 9 Leo von Klenze. *Olive Tree*, May 26, 1827. From Sketchbook 3, p. 30v. Pencil on paper, 20.5 x 13.5 cm (8 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.). Munich, Stadtmuseum Xh:170.

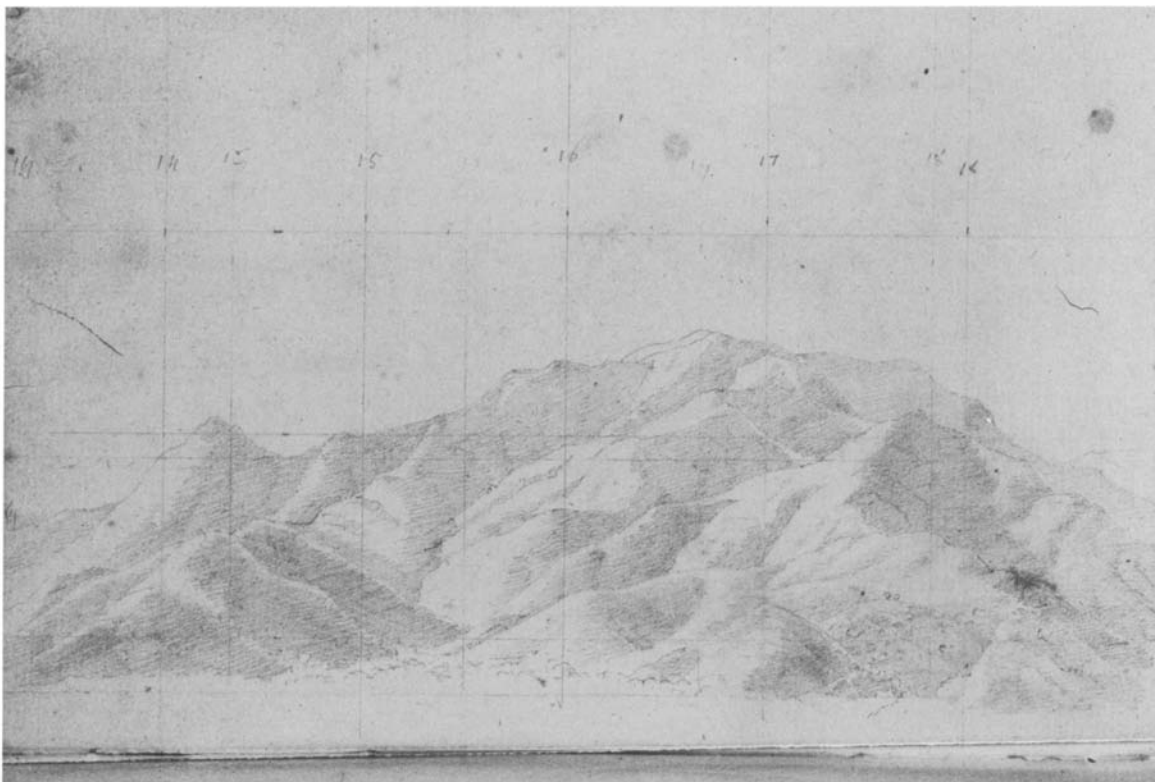


FIGURE 10 Leo von Klenze. *Mountain Range*. From Sketchbook 3, p. 33v. Pencil on paper, 20.5 x 13.5 cm (8 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.). Munich, Stadtmuseum Xh:170.



FIGURE 11 Mountains north of Massa di Carrara from east mountains, February 1994. Photo by the author.

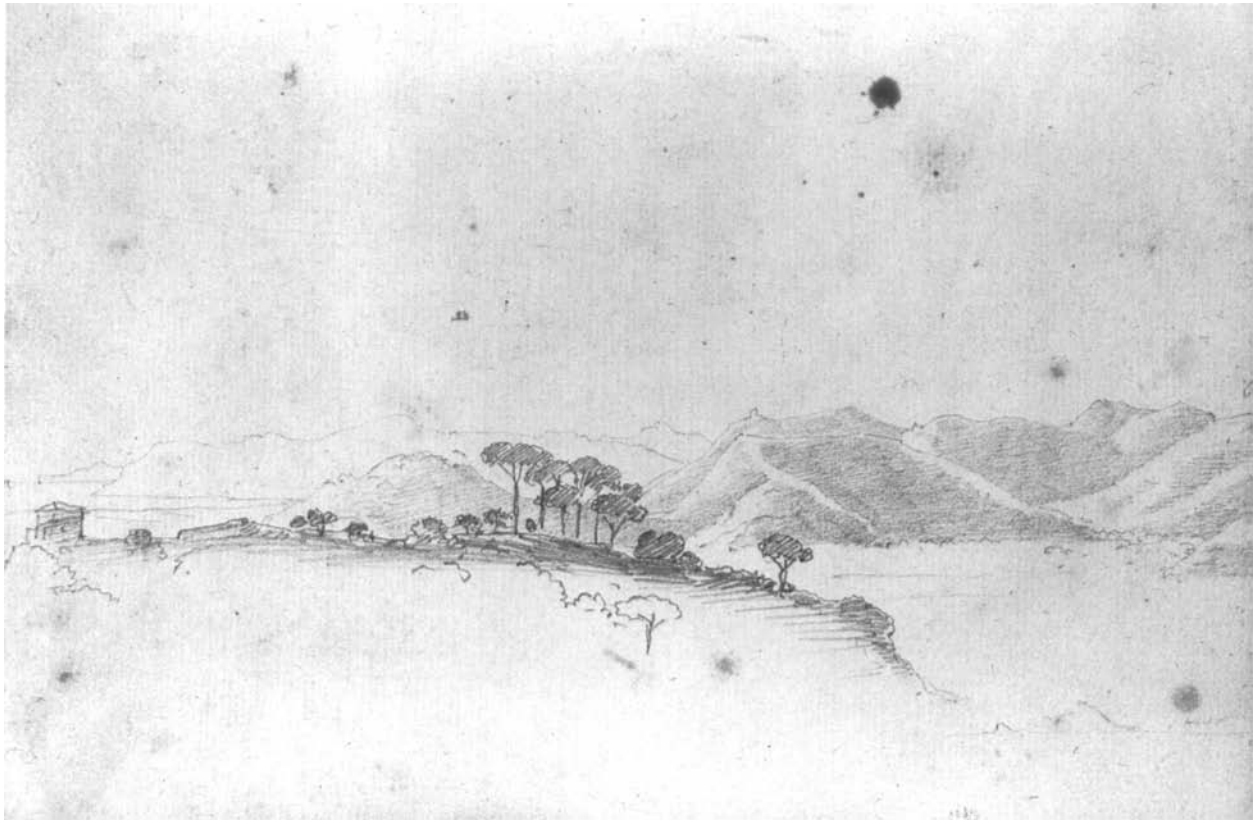


FIGURE 12 Leo von Klenze. *Trees with Mountains*. From Sketchbook 3, p. 34r. Pencil on paper, 20.5 x 13.5 cm (8 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.). Munich, Stadtmuseum Xh:170.

that Klenze made the trip from Riva to Massa in two days from the 24th to the 26th, we cannot securely associate them with Massa.

The page that bears a careful, squared and numbered drawing of a section of the distant mountain range may be the first drawing in his sketchbook to depict Massa (fig. 10; compare to fig. 11). As suggested by the squaring, this drawing corresponds closely to the rendering of the mountains in the painting. The viewpoint in this case is similar to that of the loose sketch (fig. 3), a position in the hills to the west of the *castello*. Another small drawing is a study of the rise of ground with tiny umbrella pine trees and the mountains beyond, an area corresponding to the painting's middle ground (fig. 12). The shift in relationships between the trees and the mountains beyond in figure 12, as compared with figure 3, suggests a more southerly viewpoint along the range of hills. A definite sense of Klenze's movements, however, cannot be determined, as figure 3 appears on page 43, nearly ten pages later than these other sketches of Massa, and somewhat by itself. The handling of this sketch is much more rapid and loose than the other

drawings, and it may be that he simply opened the book without his more usual regard to chronology. Whether they and the larger drawings were all completed in the same day of roaming this area must remain uncertain.

The drawings that can be associated with Massa correspond to at least four positions around the city: two in the western area, a third close to the southern base of the *castello*, and a fourth in the valley itself. When it came time to paint the canvas, Klenze conflated his viewpoints. Using the overall land layout of the loose sketch, he took the structural details from the large drawing of the *castello*, reversing the building—but not the ground and structures below—in transferring the image from paper to canvas, and taking advantage of the upward, monumentalizing thrust of the hill. The aqueduct, lifted from the large drawing and its actual location, is used compositionally to offset the *castello* and provide a screen between the foreground and the distant valley and mountains.²⁶ The variety of the drawings and their viewpoints suggest that Klenze did not have a particular painting composition in mind; he simply collected raw material that could be used on his return to Munich.



FIGURE 13 Detail of figure 1 under infrared reflectography. Photo: J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, Department of Paintings Conservation.

Once he was back in his studio, Klenze could compose his paintings almost by assembly, browsing through his drawings and notebooks and using those elements that appealed to him. The drawings did not necessarily correspond to the site depicted. Therefore, as many as seven years later in 1834, Klenze could exhibit one of the products of this expedition, the Getty Museum's *View of Massa*, at the Academy in Berlin.²⁷ In fact two other paintings depicting Massa, both now lost and their compositions unfortunately unknown, preceded the Getty painting.²⁸

Infrared reflectography (figs. 13, 14) reveals the grid lines Klenze used to enlarge and transfer his drawings to the canvas and also shows that some development of the image was done on the canvas. The only significant changes, however, were made to the figures, changing details of costume and reducing their size by a head to more reasonable proportions with the buildings, thereby allowing the landscape greater dominance. Yet despite the rather additive method of composition, this final product does not have the effect of a pastiche. Composition and space are carefully constructed; transitions between sections are smooth and believable. The result is a cohesion that is, I believe, made possible by architecture.

The more one looks at *View of Massa*, the more one becomes aware that this is an architectural landscape in the most literal sense of the phrase; the painting's composition and space, and even the land itself, is constructed through architecture. Traditional framing devices of trees appear on either side, and yet, like decorative pilasters, they do not bear the weight of the structure. The house on the left and the aqueduct coming in from the right are the elements that truly ground and tie together the composition. As already seen, the tree at the right is adjusted in order to better display the aqueduct, allowing it to frame and to bind the composition. The viewer's movement backward through space and the landscape is negotiated through architecture—from the angled projection of the hut that abuts the aqueduct, to the archway in a wall in the distance, up a path to another archway in the walls of the fortifications, and beyond up to the castle itself. Even the space of the distant middle ground is indicated more convincingly through the presence of small buildings. The architecture, particularly the *castello*, grows organically out of the land. In fact the rocky outcropping on which the *castello* stands, once the viewer looks carefully, seems more architecture than earth in its multiple terraces and fortifications.



FIGURE 14 Detailed view of center section of figure 1 under infrared reflectography. Photo: J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, Department of Paintings Conservation.

Of course, Klenze was primarily an architect, therefore it seems natural that his painting should be dominated by architecture. One way to regard the emphasis on architecture might be in an emblematic manner. A tradition in landscape painting juxtaposes the impressive monuments of man's glorious past with humble, rather oblivious, contemporary man, who often props his shack up against these remnants, making evident the passage of time and glorifying ancient cultures through the contrast of past and present structures and fortunes. Certainly Klenze's painting of the simple Italian peasants and their lowly domestic architecture overshadowed by a palatial stronghold from the Italian Renaissance is connected with this thematic tradition. But architecture is not merely represented here, it determines; that is, architecture provides the pictorial framework, suggests the shape of the land itself, and controls one's movement through space. That Klenze should see architecture as a visual and spatial organizing force *in* and *of* nature is telling of both the artist and his time. This painting, I would assert, reveals a highly cognitive and reflective approach to landscape painting and composition that is different from other, more coloristic "impressions" or sunlit memories of Italy (compare to fig. 2), and from more traditional measured architectural or archaeological renderings of visual and structural detail.²⁹ Although *View of Massa* derives from the Poussinist, seventeenth-century tradition of Italianate landscape painting that withdraws from direct representation of nature to subject it to idyllic principles of order and lucidity,³⁰ the painting differs, in addition to a greater attention to natural detail common to German landscape painting, in its integration of architecture and land. Poussin uses architecture as spatial and compositional markers, but his buildings are rendered as geometrical volumes without a sense of their physical relationship to the land on which they sit. Klenze's buildings, in contrast, are constructions with foundations in the earth; they grow up out of and are physically bound to the ground. At times it is difficult to determine at which point architecture begins and land ends. By painting rocks as architecture and architecture as rocks, Klenze imposes a system of order and coherence based on a particular conception of the relationship between nature and man's constructions.

At times Klenze's architecture has been described as *malerisch*, or painterly; I would like to turn this around and consider what his work and identity as an architect, his most dominant mode of artistic production, meant to his painting. I would also like to ask of this painting a few remarkably basic questions that at least two of

Klenze's contemporaries, Goethe and Hegel, attempted to answer in their work: Why paint? Why design architecture? Why art?

Let us first approach the connection between Klenze's creation of paintings and architecture and the study of nature from a more practical standpoint. In 1804 Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Klenze's good friend and fellow architectural student, wrote to their mentor, the architect David Gilly (1748–1808), from Italy: "For the most part, the monuments of antiquity do not offer anything new for an architect, because one has been acquainted with them since one's youth. But the sight of these works in their natural setting holds a surprise which comes not only from their size, but from their picturesque grouping."³¹ Studying the relation of man's constructions to their physical, natural surroundings was a rather new approach. Friedrich Gilly (1772–1800), son of David Gilly, has been credited with inspiring both Schinkel and Klenze to pursue architecture. A vitally important architect despite his early death, Gilly continued to influence young architects through the drawings that he left to Schinkel, who in turn shared them with Klenze. Gilly introduced new innovations in Romantic architectural drawings essentially by being the first to depict major buildings within a natural setting. "Though garden buildings and monuments were occasionally represented in perspective and in natural settings, it was extremely unusual, if not unique, for a major public building to be represented in this pictorial fashion."³² Previously, these plans were presented in abstract elevations without reference to context.

Klenze himself made a connection between pictorial architectural designs and his interest in landscape painting. In a letter to Prince Ludwig dated August 20, 1818, the architect discussed submitting a plan for the Heeresdenkmals to Field Marshall Wrede. He stated with some irony, "In accordance with my bad habit, I produced the whole in a dignified, perspective picture, which delivered the best truth in proportion, form, color and effect."³³ This statement suggests that his engagement with landscape painting affected his conceptualization and presentation of architecture, thereby acknowledging that in his architectural practice the physical, natural surroundings took an active part in the "effect" of the structure.

The growing interest in the Picturesque and landscape architecture that began to spread abroad from England in the mid- to late eighteenth century also encouraged a focusing of attention on an integrated relationship between architecture and landscape. The term *picturesque* is one that defies straightforward definition,

and did so even during the height of its influence.³⁴ Expressing an aesthetic ideal apart from Beauty and Sublime, its appeal or essence was described with such words as “variation” and “roughness.” Although it is applied to poetry and even music, the Picturesque was most closely associated with the development of a style of landscape design that differed sharply from the mannered, symmetrical, Baroque gardens of the French tradition. Under the influence of the new aesthetic, gardens were conceived from a pictorial (picture-esque) standpoint, creating views or prospects of “natural” landscapes. This version of nature has been likened (rather schizophrenically) to both Dutch landscape painting and to the Arcadian scenes of Poussin and Lorraine. The important innovation of the “Aha” or “Ha Ha”—a Picturesque term for a *fossé*, or ditch, that mimics the sound one made in coming upon a spectacular view—made fences unnecessary and opened up views of countryside, blurring distinctions between the garden and the wild of nature. Within the garden, follies appeared in forms ranging from Gothic ruins to pagodas to classical temples, distributed with an eye to their “fortuitous” appearance from a distance and their “natural” participation in the overall effect of the design. At times this type of landscape design was felt to be allied with sociopolitical ideas of individual freedom and parliamentary rule, as opposed to rigid, artificial control and totalitarian government.

Growing feelings of nationalism, German pride, and independence were felt to be expressed suitably through the new landscape architecture, particularly at a time when the principalities were recovering from Napoleonic subjugation.³⁵ As attempts were made in all the arts to give form to Romantic ideas and ideals of “German-ness,” the Picturesque garden was adopted and, literally, monumentalized. *Denkmallandschaft* (landscape monument or monumental landscape) goes beyond a nature constructed by man and makes of it a monument to man; the garden is made heroic.³⁶ The meanings to be had through this form of memorial, particularly those with nationalistic pretensions, are multiple. The lack of fences makes it *grenzenlos*, or boundless, limitless, a physical representation of freedom. By the end of the eighteenth century, the nature-descriptive poetry of poets such as Salomon Geßner had created a perception of the German people as being highly attuned to nature.³⁷ This alliance of “German-ness” and nature was accepted and reasserted by the growing proposal and use of landscape gardens as national monuments. Notions of Rousseau’s “natural man” are suggested through the apparent lack of artifice in the landscape’s form. The close association of man with nature makes a connection between the

earth, the soil—the face and body of Germany—and the people who naturally inhabit it, shape it, and are shaped by it. This land in turn unifies and glorifies this people, and claims for them a commonality and history regardless of political borders. By creating a national memorial out of nature, German history is equated with natural history, and is thereby made timeless and eternal. The Picturesque style implies that the monument (and, therefore, the German people and culture) is not forced on the land but part of it, at one with it.

The Walhalla (fig. 15), contemporary with his Massa drawings and paintings, is an architectural project that Klenze considered the most important of his career.³⁸ Built on a mountainside hanging over the Danube near Regensburg, the Walhalla is a temple to German fame modeled after the Parthenon that sits on top of a terraced platform that melds with the hillside. This is *Denkmallandschaft*: a monument including not just the building but the platform and land mass, all of which appear organically united. It is no accident that the Walhalla and its environs have been painted by a variety of artists, from those minor and unknown to luminaries such as Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775–1851) and Klenze himself;³⁹ in accordance with the aesthetic of the Picturesque, the building and its surroundings are composed admirably for landscape painting. Every aspect of this place is planned and arranged: the choice of elevated site near a contrasting church, the Salvatorkirche, in an older indigenous style;⁴⁰ a ruined castle from the Middle Ages on the next ridge; a planted forest of oaks; and a commanding view of an important river and valley. Each element creates not only the perfect setting for this temple but contributes to its message. Beyond satisfying the Picturesque demand for variety or being a monumental version of a “history” of architectural styles often found in earlier English garden architecture, the range of buildings, including the medieval castle, Byzantine church, and neo-Greek temple, provide reference to the strength of the German cultural past and prophecy of its future.

The experience of movement through this selected and developed site is carefully orchestrated. Whether down the river and up the enormous ceremonial staircase or from behind the old church and through the fairytale forest reminiscent of the Brothers Grimm, the visitor’s approach and ascent through the space of the landscape, and what is seen in the process, is part of the meaning of the Walhalla. To the Romantic imagination, a climb up a mountain, like Petrarch’s ascent of Mount Ventoux in 1336, is equivalent to a journey of self-knowledge. Evocations of apotheosis arise in this



FIGURE 15 Leo von Klenze. *The Walhalla*, 1839. Oil on canvas, 80 x 125 cm (31½ x 49¼ in.). Regensburg, Museum der Stadt 1965/14.

programmatic mounting, appropriate to the approach toward a structure named after the realm of the afterlife of Nordic heroes. A physical progression heavenward, toward the realm of the immortals, not only makes a pilgrim of the (German) visitor, paying homage to the memory of famous Germans whose busts are displayed, but suggests and encourages the possibility of participation in that rise to greatness.

This is really more than a celebration or memorial of German fame; it was intended to take an active role in the growing nationalism, in the sense of pride in a German people. Ludwig I, responsible for the initial idea for a Walhalla, believed that through posterity's memory, the immortality of great men could be transformed into the rebirth of the nation in that posterity's consciousness, which would in turn be a premonition of the future.⁴¹ The Walhalla would be the site of that transformation, a site of redemption for the German people. The Walhalla does more than display statuary busts of famous Germans; it creates an important history for the German people.⁴² A position above the famous Danube and an

architectural contrast with older traditional styles of German architecture are not the only factors that suggest German history, power, and glory. The platform, constructed to appear as if it is a part of the hillside, is made of Pelasgian or Cyclopean stonework, a prehistoric method of wall building using large, many-sided stones found at such famous Greek sites as Athens,⁴³ Delphi,⁴⁴ and Mycenae,⁴⁵ as well as at ancient Etruscan sites. As an archaeologist, Klenze was well aware that the classical style of the Walhalla's temple structure did not correspond with the significantly earlier style of the platform.⁴⁶ This form of base provides a still more ancient context of *Urzeit*, or prehistory, by which a connection with the pre-Greeks and earliest man is asserted. In 1821 Klenze published an elaborate theory symptomatic of the period that describes the history of man and his dispersal into Europe and Greece from the Caucasus, using architectural styles as his method of tracing cultural connections and movement.⁴⁷ The end is a highly romantic claim for Germans as cultural heirs of the Greeks via Middle Europe. In addition to Pelasgian con-

struction the shape of the Walhalla's stepped base refers to this theory and claim through its formal references to such varied structures as Mesopotamian ziggurats, Egyptian pyramids, Etruscan tombs, and even the Tower of Babel.

Klenze's fascination with acropolis-like architectural forms that manage to be mountain and architecture at once continued throughout his life, but was particularly and understandably strong during the design and construction period of the Walhalla. Numerous drawings and paintings explore such varied structures as Italian monasteries, a Romanesque gateway, hilltowns, and, of course, the Athenian Acropolis. In addition to their common location on a rise of ground (which allows for both a dominating presence and possibilities of procession) these are structures of history—of cultural and often of military power. Their close, physical connection with the landscape conveys something of their permanence, of the lasting quality of that power. The study of Massa's Castello Malaspina and its environs can be seen within this context of engagement with "acropoli" and Klenze's search for forms for the Walhalla, as a building both picturesquely disposed and historically evocative.

The Walhalla's physical and ideological claiming of the land through restructuring and control of form and movement reveals a perception or understanding of land, space, and history, even natural history, through the association and negotiation of man and his creations. As an architect, Klenze designed and built structures that became part of the fabric of the landscape and, at the same time, shaped and defined that landscape. His activities as urban planner of Munich similarly involve the creation of an environment, a landscape, through the disposition of his designs. The ordering of the spaces, not just buildings, to provide processional routes and grandiose views combined with specific architectural styles were intended to make Munich a new Athens, a new Florence. Landscape is reconfigured in terms of the existence, the culture, the presence, the history of man.

I think we can claim a similar, although less programmatic, activity or thought process for the Getty Museum's *View of Massa*—an understanding, viewing, and (re)structuring of nature in terms of man. Klenze's planning and preparation for the painting through multiple sketches withdraws the artist and the viewer from the original, natural source, in time (there was a seven-year gap between the original sketch and the painting), distance (between Massan landscape and Munich studio), and form (conflation of viewpoints), displacing the landscape and re-creating it in the artist's terms. He used his sketches like building blocks to construct his version

of nature; architecture was enlisted to provide the compositional and spatial "armature." This withdrawal is not to some mythological, Arcadian idyll; this scene is not generic but is grounded in reality and constructed in terms of historical man. Its idealization is through the formal power of the architecture and its fusion with the landscape. Massa is not a garden or a planned city, and yet, like picturesque landscape and urban order, nature is being reconstructed and reconceived and the lines between man and nature are blurred.

There is a duality here, because the human intercession between man and his view of nature occurs both in the world of art, through the making of the painting, its structure, and its mythic realm, and in physical fact, in the "exterior" world, through the architectural remnants of man's "glorious" cultural and military past remaining a part of the fabric of the landscape. The architecture of the fortress and its battlements does not precisely dominate the land but exists as part of it, equivalent to it, providing structure and suggesting a connection between human history and natural history. Klenze has presented us with a *Denkmallandschaft* in paint. Landscape (nature) is defined, determined by Man (his historical past and presence) and man (his artistic, subjective view and act of creation).

This conception of man's relation to the world and self through art was not singular to Klenze at this time but seems closely allied to ideas that Goethe at the end of the eighteenth century and Hegel in the 1820s were developing in their writings on art and aesthetics.⁴⁸ Goethe wrote: "The very quality in a work of art which strikes the uncultivated as natural, is not natural (from without) but man (nature from within). We know of no world but with relation to man; we desire no art but the art which is the imprint of this relation."⁴⁹ An artwork, by the very fact that it is created by man, can never be an objective depiction, but is an object or idea subjected to man's interpretation, even existence. We have seen how Klenze's understanding of nature is mediated through both architecture and painting. Even those parts of the Massa painting that are purely "nature"—the trees, as opposed to a building, for instance—are marked, defined, by the hand of man, Klenze, in their highly drawn character.

Hegel goes further and asserts that this relationship between man and nature, his structuring intervention (re-creating it in his own image), is the driving force behind man's need to create art: "The universal need for art . . . is man's rational need to lift the inner and outer world into his spiritual consciousness as an object in which he recognizes himself."⁵⁰

And more:

The universal and absolute need from which art (on its formal side) springs has its origin in the fact that man is a *thinking* consciousness, i.e., that man draws out of himself and puts before himself what he is and whatever else is. Things in nature are only immediate and single, while man as spirit *duplicates* himself; he intuitively himself, represents himself, thinks and only on the strength of this active placing of himself before himself is he spirit. This consciousness of himself man acquires in a twofold way: first, theoretically, in so far as inwardly he must bring himself into his own consciousness, along with whatever moves, stirs and presses in the human breast; and in general he must see himself, represent himself to himself, fix himself before himself what thinking finds as his essence, and recognize himself alone alike in what is summoned out of himself and what is accepted from without. Secondly, man brings himself before himself by *practical* activity, since he has the impulse, in whatever is directly given to him, in what is present to him externally, to produce himself and therein equally to recognize himself. This aim he achieves by altering external things whereon he impresses the seal of his inner being and in which he now finds again his own characteristics. Man does this in order, as a free subject, to strip the world of its inflexible foreignness and to enjoy in the shape of things only an external realization of himself.⁵¹

According to Hegel, in creating art man performs the necessary act of re-creating the exterior world in terms of his inner self, so that he is able to understand and recognize himself.

This is not nature, it is man; not landscape but architecture. Klenze has *constructed* a world that is not a simple representation of nature, nor even the memory of nature (although memory is already a structure of man), but rather is a representation (representation and re-presentation) of Man and Self: Man as timeless, continuous, and organic as the landscape, indivisible from the landscape; Self in that it is a representation of his activity as architect, his sense of self or identity and role in relation to life and nature, time/history, land, and space.

I do not claim that this painting is in any way some kind of manifesto of Hegelianism—I do, however, argue that Klenze was highly conscious of his relation to landscape through both of his artistic activities. A quote from Klenze, although it discusses architecture and historicism, applies equally well here: “We no longer live in an age of unquestioningly natural creation. . . . Our lives belong to an epoch of thinking, investigating and self-

conscious reflection. . . . An adept architect [artist] will make use of existing forms. . . . He will do so in complete freedom, and combine the forms of the past into an original, beautiful and organic whole.”⁵² Klenze’s primary activity as an architect (in which he literally reconstructs the exterior world) leads him in his painting to re-create the exterior world in terms of architecture (himself); an act of “self-conscious reflection,” he uses the existing forms of landscape, architecture, and his own sketches, and fuses them into an “original, beautiful and organic whole,” which, in the end, is representative of his own sense of order.

Goethe’s and Hegel’s understanding of man and man’s relationship to the world through art, in which art is first and foremost an expression of the human spirit, is essentially a Romantic notion that would reverberate far into the future in the development of modern art. Its influence can be felt in the dialectic of Impressionist vision between the belief in recording “scientifically” the patterns of light on the retina and the recognition that the individual retina will always make this practice subjective. Much later the emphasis on the “interior” landscape can be felt in developments in greater abstraction. The rise of landscape painting in the nineteenth century is far from a turning away from the depiction of the nature of man or the history of man; Klenze’s painting of Massa reveals that this artist, at least, recorded less a landscape and more the controlling vision and presence of man.

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NOTES

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1. See A. Berhard-Walcher and F. Wilhelm Hamdorf, "Zu den Anfängen der Münchner Vasensammlung im frühen 19. Jahrhundert," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, ser. 3, 41 (1990), pp. 7–22. See also O. Hederer, *Leo von Klenze: Persönlichkeit und Werk* (Munich, 1981), pp. 30–33.
2. See Hederer (note 1).
3. F. Hufnagel and N. Lieb, *Leo von Klenze: Gemälde und Zeichnungen* (Munich, 1979).
4. There are a few exceptions: one in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg; one in the Thorvaldsen Museum, Copenhagen; one in a private collection in Vienna; two in private collections in Switzerland (although the attribution of one of these is questionable).
5. Hufnagel and Lieb (note 3), G35, p. 101. All G numbers and Z numbers refer to Hufnagel and Lieb's cataloguing of paintings and drawings, respectively.
6. There is one known instance in which Thorvaldsen desired (*gewünscht*) the Pirano painting (G24), which was promised (*versprochen*) to him; see Hufnagel and Lieb (note 3), p. 39.
7. Hufnagel and Lieb (note 3), p. 53.
8. G73, Bayerische Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen, Munich. My thanks to Dr. Peter Krückmann and the conservation department at Schloß Nymphenburg, Munich, for enabling me to see this painting.
9. His "schlechte Gewohnheit"; see Hufnagel and Lieb (note 3), p. 36.
10. S. Giampoli, "Società e Cultura a Massa Carrara nella Restaurazione," in *Massa e Carrara nella Restaurazione: Il Governo di Maria Beatrice Cybo d'Este* (Massa, 1980), p. 76.
11. Ernst Fries, *Wasserfall bei Isola di Sona*, 1833; donated by Klenze to the Neue Pinakothek, Munich, along with the rest of his collection in 1842. See W. Mittlmeier, *Die Neue Pinakothek in München, 1843–1854* (Munich, 1977), p. 187, cat. 144, p. 213. Klenze's personal collection was particularly remarkable in that it consisted primarily of landscape and genre paintings by his German contemporaries. Thirty German, three Belgian, two French, and two Italian artists are represented in the collection given to the Neue Pinakothek. Of the landscape paintings, which outnumber the genre, the majority of these are of Italy.
12. H. Decker, *Carl Rottmann* (Berlin, 1957), p. 145:

Liebe Friederike! Du wähnst vielleicht, daß ich schon lange in Florenz oder Rom angelangt sei, während ich noch hier in Massa bin und mich kaum von diesen herrlichen Gegenden trennen kann, die vielleicht mit die glücklichsten sind, die hier und dort dem Erdboden ausgetheilt worden. . . . Du hast aus meinen Briefen ersehen, daß mir noch vieles zu wünschen übrig geblieben war, das ich an jener Küste gegen Nizza nicht gefunden hätte, wenn ich nicht meine Küstenreise fortgesetzt hätte. Fast melancholisch kann ich sagen, ging ich von Genua aus von Ort zu Ort der Küste entlang, traf viele hübsche Sachen, immer aber

nur darum schön, weil das Meer mit seinen Wellen sie anathmete. . . . Hier in Massa ist ein Reichtum der Natur, der unerschöpflich ist (Massa, September 1826).

13. An interesting discussion of Italy as a travel destination can be found in A. Brilli, *Il Viaggio in Italia: Storia di una grande Tradizione culturale dal XVI al XIX Secolo* (Milan, 1987).
14. See C. Heilmann, "Zur Tradition Roms als Kunstzentrum und seine Wirkungen auf die Münchner Landschaftsmalerei um 1800," in *Münchner Landschaftsmalerei, 1800–50*, ed. Armin Zweite (Munich, 1978), pp. 12–19.
15. See B. Lohse, *Jakob Philipp Hackert: Leben und Anfänge seiner Kunst* (Emsdetten, 1936); T. Mitchell, *Art and Science in German Landscape Painting, 1770–1840* (Oxford, 1993).
16. In 1817 the French Academy introduced a *Prix de Rome* for landscape painting.
17. P. R. Radisich, "Eighteenth-Century Landscape Theory and the Work of Pierre Henri Valenciennes" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1977), discusses the range of these texts. See also K. Bernhard, *Idylle: Theorie, Geschichte, Darstellung in der Malerei, 1750–1850* (Vienna, 1977), for an investigation of the development of the "idyllic" in heroic/pastoral poetry, landscape painting and theory in Germany during the same time period.
18. Hufnagel and Lieb (note 3), p. 101. The catalogue entry states "Vorstudien in Sk 3 [sketchbook 3] und Z 105." Only one sketch from this sketchbook, 43 r. fig. (a), however, is shown or specifically related to the painting.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 40–41:

So gibt zum Bild von Massa di Carrara eine erste, rasch getroffene Bleistiftskizze bereits die schließlich gemalte Komposition. Eine folgende Reinszeichnung rückt aber die Bergburg nach rechts, um links einen Fernblick zu gewinnen. Im erhaltenen Gemälde wird dann wieder die Komposition der ersten Skizze aufgenommen, der Burgbau jedoch spiegelbildlich umgekehrt, die großen Bäume stehen an die Ränder des Vordergrunds auseinandergerückt.

21. Stadtmuseum, Munich, inv. Xh:170 (Hufnagel and Lieb [note 3], sketch 3); Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, mappe 35/I, inv. 27.713 (Z105) and inv. 27.712 (Z106), bearing the watermark *JWHATMAN 1824*. Also closely associated with these would be Staatliche Graphische Sammlung inv. 27.711 (Z103), which depicts the nearby town of Carrara.
22. *Catasto del Communo di Volpigliano, ed Uniti*, 1804, entries 1966 and 1967. My sincere thanks to Mr. Pierluigi Pucci of Massa for bringing this document to my attention.
23. The region immediately west of the Castello Malaspina.
24. In addition to these two drawings of Massa, two drawings—Z103 and Z104—depict the nearby (less than one day's travel in Klenze's time) town of Carrara.
25. The rather athletic pose of the naked child in the lap of the seated mother in the painting does not appear to originate in such sketches but seems to be derived from Leonardo da Vinci's *Virgin and Child with a Yarnwinder* (two versions: Buccleuch Collection/National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh; private collection, New York), of which numerous copies were made by artists of many nationalities from the early sixteenth century, a lofty, erudite source for staffage.
26. I have been unable to determine securely whether the summary depiction of an aqueduct in the loose sketch (fig. 3) is an early play with composition or if it indicates a different section of the same (or related) aqueduct that appears in the finished drawing.

27. *Katalog der Akademie-Ausstellung Berlin* (Berlin, 1834), p. 32, n. 361.
28. Hufnagel and Lieb (note 3), G15, *Massa di Carrara*, and G16, *Eine Aussicht von La Rocca bei Massa*, both exhibited in Munich in 1828.
29. It is tempting to speculate on Fries's role in Klenze's selection of composition. As noted above, Klenze was acquainted with Fries, and even owned a painting by the younger artist. Fries completed his painting, which shares a remarkable similarity to the Getty painting in general composition, although it does not have the structural detail and position gleaned from Z105 (fig. 5), in Munich, 1830, four years prior to the Getty painting. An imaginary Italian landscape by Klenze, now in the Museum für bildende Kunst, Leipzig, shares the layout of a castle on a hill to the left, and the bay and mountains on the right, but is dated 1829. (Fries's own Italian landscape in the Kurpfälzisches Museum, Heidelberg, again a similar composition, is dated 1830. There is also a detailed drawing of Massa, close to the Reinhardt painting, in the Staatlichen Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe. Fries's drawings of Massa are found, for the most part, in Heidelberg.) It may be possible that both men were aware of one another's work, but the way in which they handled the material remained unique.
30. See M. A. Cheetham, "Revision and Exploration: German Landscape Depiction and Theory in the Late Eighteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University College, University of London, 1982), for a discussion of the relationship between the seventeenth-century Italianate landscape tradition and developments in late eighteenth-century German landscape painting and theory.
31. D. Watkin, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), p. 86.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
33. See Hufnagel and Lieb (note 3), p. 36: "Meiner schlechten Gewohnheit zufolge habe ich das Ganze in ein würdiges perspektivisches Bild gebracht, welches möglichst wahr in Verhältnis, Gestalt, Farbe und Wirkung gehalten."
34. For literature relative to the debate at the time, see the writings of William S. Gilpin (*Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty, on Picturesque Travel and on Sketching Landscape* [London, 1792] and *Practical Hints upon Landscape Gardening* [London, 1832], among others); Sir Uvedale Price (particularly *An Essay on the Picturesque* [London, 1794]); and Richard Payne Knight (*The Landscape, a Didactic Poem in Three Books* [London, 1794]). *The Genius of the Place*, ed. J. D. Hunt and P. Willis (London, 1975), contains selected writings on the subject. Modern discussions of the Picturesque can be found in C. Hussey, *The Picturesque* (London, 1927) and D. Watkin, *The English Vision* (London, 1982).
35. Picturesque landscape architecture, like German nationalism, came to German states prior to Napoleon. C. C. L. Hirschfeld published *Theorie der Gartenkunst* (1779–85) and plans for the Englischer Garten in Munich, for which Klenze later designed his Monopteros, began as early as 1789. After the fall of Napoleon, however, there was a sharp rise in both the proposals and creation of these projects.
36. *Denkmallandschaft* continues today, particularly in the United States. Physical creation or intervention (landscaping) is unnecessary; the act of naming is enough to make a natural landscape become a monument or memorial. Man's creative role becomes conceptual.
37. Radisich (note 17), p. 79.
38. Walhalla was built between 1830 and 1842, although ideas and planning began much earlier. See J. Traeger, *Der Weg nach Walhalla* (Regensburg, 1987); V. Loers, "Walhalla und Salvatorkirche," *Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Oberpfalz und Regensburg* 118 (1978), pp. 132–171; and idem, "Walhalla zwischen Historie und Historismus," *Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Oberpfalz und Regensburg* 119 (1979), pp. 345–71, for more thorough treatments of the Walhalla and *Denkmallandschaft*.
39. Joseph Mallord William Turner, *The Opening of the Walhalla*, 1843 (Tate Gallery, London). Klenze made two large-scale paintings of the Walhalla: *Die Walhalla bei Regensburg*, 1836 (The Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, inv. 42/14); and *Salvatorkirche und Walhalla*, 1839 (Museum der Stadt, Regensburg, inv. 1965/14; fig. 15). J. Traeger ([note 38], pp. 188–89) has gone so far as to suggest that the Walhalla itself is a giant, frameless picture.
40. Klenze made his restoration plan for the Salvatorkirche in 1839, while the work itself was completed in 1842, prior to the opening of Walhalla, salvaging its earlier Byzantine style from its Baroque additions; see Traeger (note 38), pp. 90–92.
41. Traeger (note 38), pp. 186 ff.
42. "Germans" is a loose term in this instance; figures such as Katherine the Great and Van Dyck were considered "germanic" enough to have their busts included at the Walhalla.
43. For example, the construction of the oldest enclosing wall of the Acropolis.
44. The substructure of the Temple of Apollo is constructed in this manner.
45. Although Mycenae was not systematically excavated until the 1870s by Heinrich Schliemann, Klenze visited the site in 1834 and drew the relief of the lion gate.
46. For a discussion of Klenze's activities as an archaeologist, see R. Wünsche et al., *Ein Griechischer Traum: Leo von Klenze der Archäologe*, exh. cat. (Munich, 1985).
47. Leo von Klenze, *Versuch einer Wiederherstellung des toskanischen Tempels nach seinen historischen und technischen Analogien* (Munich, 1821).
48. This is not the first instance of the association of Hegel's ideas with Klenze's. V. Loers, 1979 (note 38), pp. 347 ff., associates the range of historical styles of architecture in the Walhalla program with Hegel's aesthetic of *symbolisch* architecture.
49. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, "Aphorismus über Kunst und Kunstgeschichte," in *German Aesthetic and Literary Criticism: The Romantic Ironists and Goethe*, ed. K. M. Wheeler (Cambridge, 1984), p. 227. While these aphorisms are from literary remains and therefore were written over the span of his life, the same idea is found, although not as succinctly put, in his *On Realism in Art* (1798) and in a conversation with Johann Peter Eckermann, April 10, 1829, regarding the work of Claude Lorraine (see J. Gage, ed., *Goethe on Art* [Berkeley, 1980], pp. 218–19).
50. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, from "Vorlesungen über die Aesthetik [Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art]," given in Berlin between 1823 and 1829. Reprinted in translation in D. Simpson, ed., *German Aesthetic and Literary Criticism: Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Schopenhauer, Hegel* (Cambridge, 1984), p. 207.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 207.
52. Quoted by N. Pevsner in his review of P. Böttger, *Die Alte Pinakothek in München*, *Art Bulletin* 55, no. 4 (December 1973).

Acquisitions/1994

Notes to the Reader	60	Manuscripts	85
Antiquities	61	Paintings	91
Decorative Arts	63	Photographs	95
Drawings	65	Sculpture and Works of Art	117

Trustees and Staff List	123
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NOTES TO THE READER

When possible in giving dimensions in the Acquisitions Supplement, the formula height by width by depth has been observed. In cases where this was not appropriate to the work of art in question, the following abbreviations have been employed:

H:	Height
W:	Width
D:	Depth
Diam:	Diameter
L:	Length

In the provenance sections brackets are used to indicate dealers, and the lack of a semicolon before a sale in parentheses means that the object was sold from that person, dealer, or gallery.

Antiquities

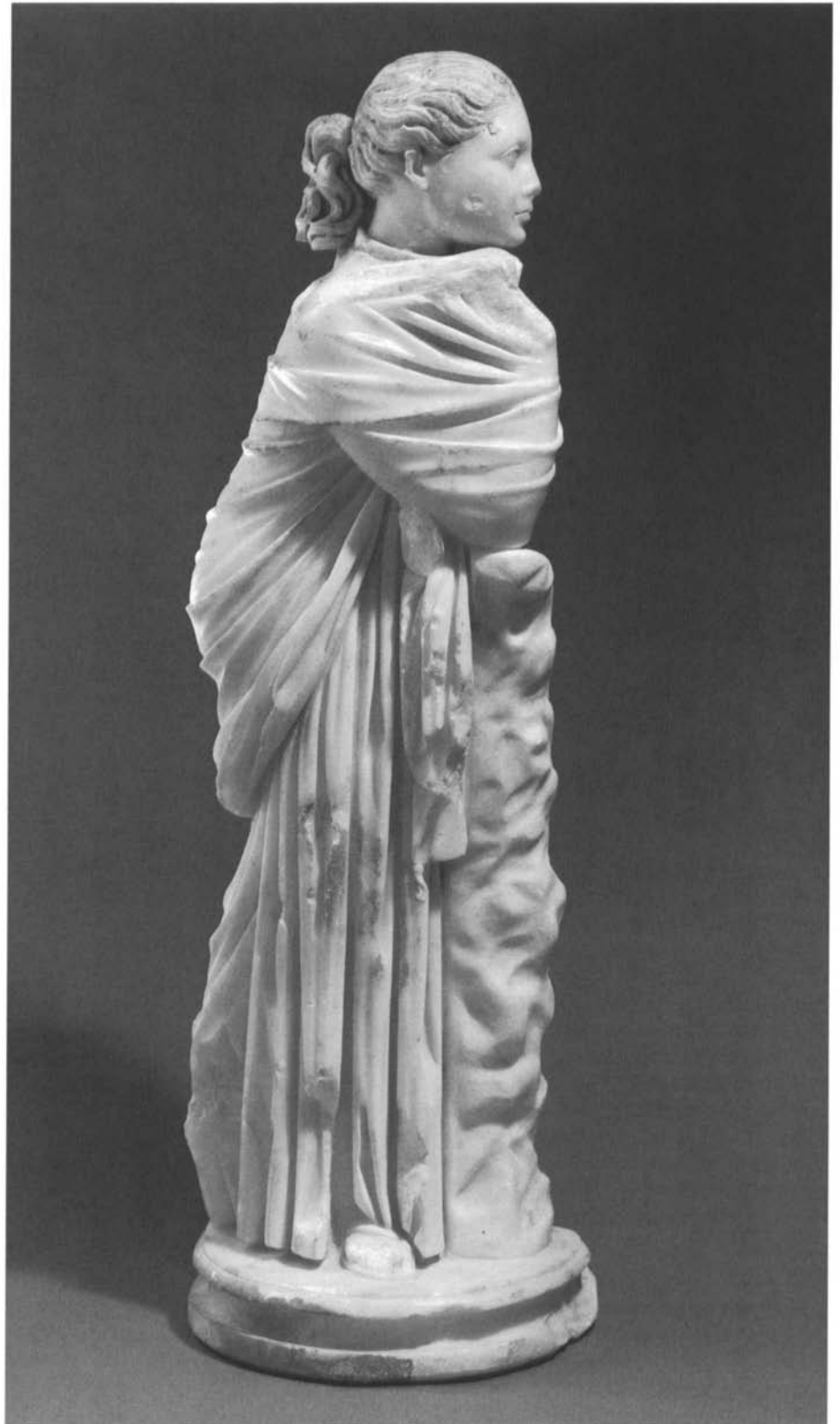
STONE

- I. *Statuette of a Muse*
 Roman, ca. A.D. 200
 Marble, H: 97 cm (38 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
 94.AA.22

This graceful figure of a young woman represents a Muse, either Polyhymnia (Muse of Mimic Art) or Melpomene (Muse of Tragedy). Enveloped in her drapery, she leans on a rocky support and stands on top of a plinth with a concave profile. The back of the plinth is flattened, which indicates that the statue may have been placed either in a niche or against a wall. Numerous traces of pigment survive on the stone, especially on the left eye, and in the hair, which was gilded. The Muse's head was broken off in antiquity and reattached. Her left hand is missing, as is the tip of her ponytail; surface losses occur to the edge of the plinth, the folds of drapery, and the toes of her right foot. This figure is part of a group of statuettes that includes three other Muses already within the Museum's collection (68.AA.21–.22, 71.AA.461). The group is said to have been found in Cremna in Asia Minor.

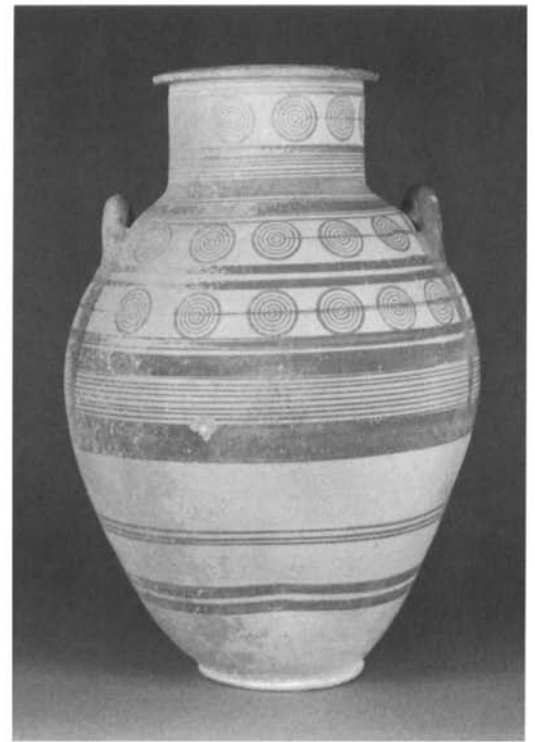
PROVENANCE: Formerly collection of Hans Cohn, Los Angeles.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Hornbostel, "Muse," in *By Judgment of the Eye: The Varya and Hans Cohn Collection*, ed. N. Thomas and C. Oldknow, exh. cat. (Los Angeles, 1991), pp. 104–5.





2 (.1)



2 (.4)

TERRA-COTTA

Cypriot

2. *Four Vases*

Cypriot, ca. 550–450 B.C.

Terra-cotta, Cup (.1): H: 10.15 cm

(4 in.), Diam (rim): 10.64 cm

(4 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.); Plate (.2): H: 3.4 cm

(1 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), Diam (rim): 24.3 cm

(9 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.); Oinochoe (.3): H (to top

of handle): 22.8 cm (8 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.), Diam

(body): 15.8 cm (6 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.); Amphora

(.4): H: 42.4 cm (16 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.), Diam

(body): 29.5 cm (11 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.).

94.AE.114.1–4

This group is comprised of four vessels: a cup and amphora of Bichrome Ware, a plate of Black on Red Ware, and an oinochoe of White Painted Ware. The cup (.1) has a pedestal foot. It is decorated with a central dot on the interior, with four concentric circles halfway up the wall, and with a broad band with three concentric circles below it at the rim. On the exte-

rior, the rim and bottom of the cup wall are delineated with a broad band. The zone in between has two vertical bands of zigzag bordered by three lines on each side, inside which is a large X. The handles are also painted, as is the edge of the foot. The plate (.2) is decorated on the interior with two concentric circles, and the rim and handles are also painted. On the exterior, the ring base is encircled by four bands; the interior of the base is ornamented with a decorative cross with one arm consisting of a hatched band bordered by two lines and the other arm composed of a band of cross-hatched lozenges, also bordered by two lines. The oinochoe (.3) has two zones of concentric circles surrounding the body, which are separated by two thin lines. The bottom of the neck has a single line, and at the top, where the rim begins to flare, are two more lines. The edge of the trefoil rim and the exterior of the handle are also painted; the handle has broad stripes along each edge with horizontal slashes across. A large curlicue descends from the handle root. The amphora (.4) has a broad zigzag on top of the rim. The neck is decorated with a series of compass-drawn concentric circles with thin and broad bands encircling the neck below. Two additional zones of concentric circles

ornament the shoulder, and they are separated by two broad stripes. The body is decorated at its widest point by a zone of two broad stripes with eight thin stripes between, and the bottom of the body contains three additional thin stripes and two broad stripes. The handles are painted, and long vertical slashes descend from each root.

All of the pots are in fairly good condition with some surface abrasion and encrustation. The foot of the cup and the lower body of the oinochoe were once broken and have been repaired.

PROVENANCE: Donated in memory of Richard Clayton Hunt by Ernest P. Mauk, Jr.

Decorative Arts

FRENCH

3. *Pair of Armchairs* (Fauteuils à la Reine)
 French, ca. 1730–35
 Gilded beech; brass casters,
 H: 108.5 cm (3 ft. 6¾ in.); W: 72.3 cm
 (2 ft. 4½ in.); D: 63.4 cm (2 ft. 1 in.).
 Chair .1 is marked No. 5 on the inner
 side of the back chair rail and chair .2
 is stamped with the Roman numeral
 VI in the same location.
 94.DA.10.1–.2

These armchairs, marked with the numbers five and six, must have been part of a large suite of seat furniture that was probably made up of other chairs, a settee, tabourets, and perhaps a fire screen. The design of the pieces dates from the early years of the Rococo style, which introduced characteristic elements such as the scrolling shape of the armrests where they join the seat rail, cabochons surrounded by auricular forms, and well-defined leaf and plant forms. Unfortunately, the name of their maker is not known. Both chairs retain some areas of the original gesso, with its finely carved details, and gilding. After conservation treatment, the chairs will be upholstered.

PROVENANCE: [Bernard Baruch Steinitz, Paris].



3 (one of a pair, before conservation)

4. *Bed (Lit à la Polonaise)*
 French (Paris), ca. 1775–80
 Painted and gilded wood; gilded iron,
 H: 302 cm (9 ft. 11 in.); W: 179 cm
 (5 ft. 10½ in.); L: 226 cm (7 ft. 5 in.)
 94.DA.72

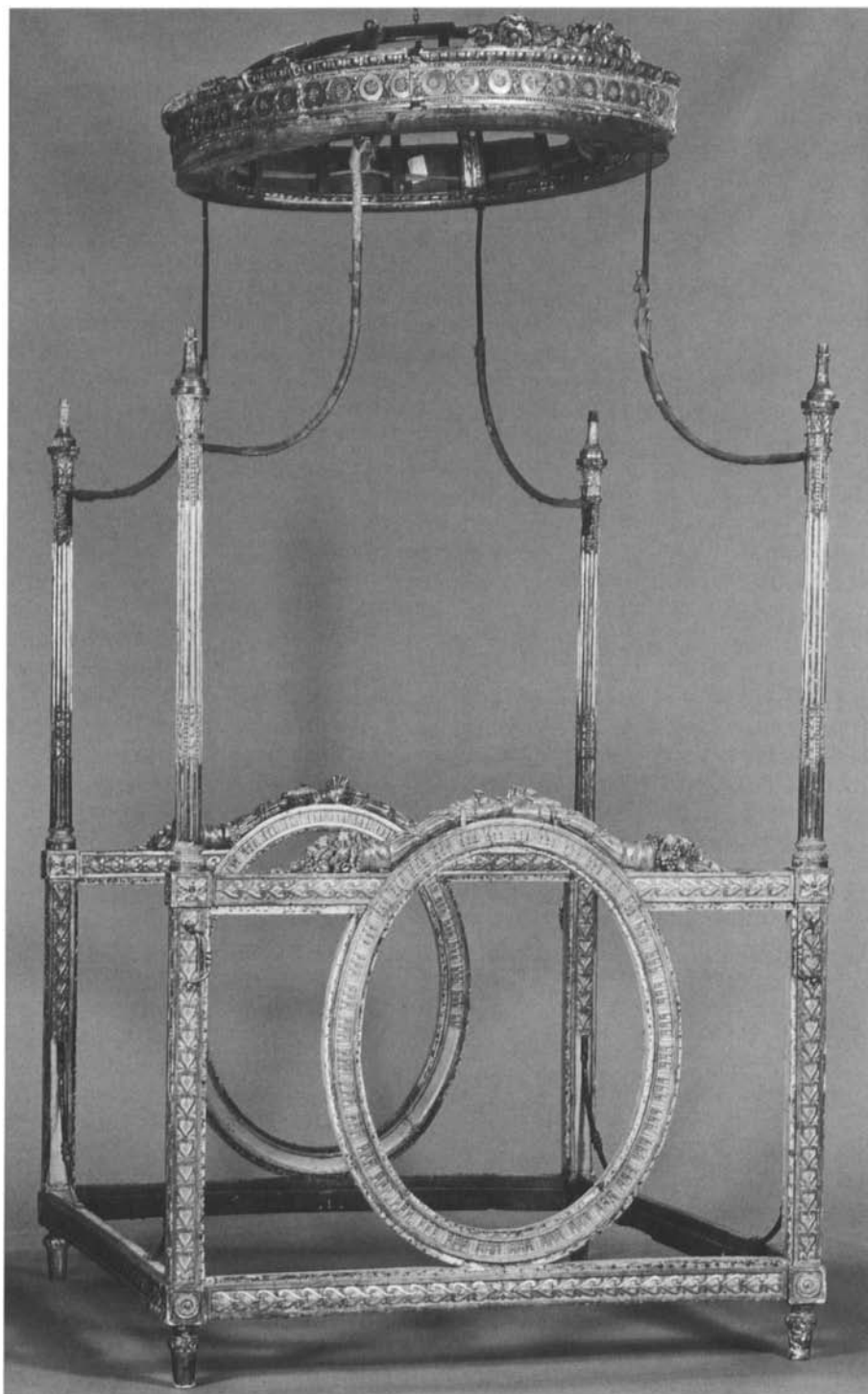
While the name of this bed's maker is unknown, its design may be closely compared to drawings and prints by Richard Lalonde (dates unknown, active last decades of the eighteenth century), the prolific designer who worked in the Neoclassical style. The frame is richly carved with a running heart-shaped motif containing paired acorns, fruit-filled cornucopias, and a total of twenty floral swags (not shown in this illustration). The canopy once bore three floral trophies, now largely missing (but shown in an early photograph), which will be replaced during conservation.

The bed was originally upholstered with a silk designed with ducks, pheasants, and peacocks by Philippe Lasalle (1723–1805), fragments of which still exist. This fabric was ordered by Catherine II in 1773, and was used to clad walls and chairs in Tsarskoe Selo, outside Saint Petersburg. It is possible, therefore, that the bed was made for a member of the Imperial Household, as this particular silk does not appear to have been used elsewhere.

After the conservation of the frame, the bed will be reupholstered with a suitable silk damask, fitted with curtains, and set with bunches of ostrich feathers on the tops of the posts.

PROVENANCE: Duc de Dino; Mlle. Gilda Darthy, Paris (sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 18, 1923, no. 77); F. Schutz, Paris; Espirito Santo family, Europe (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 8, 1983, lot 96); Barbara Piasecka Johnson (sale, Sotheby's, New York, May 21, 1992, lot 88); Karl Lagerfeld, Paris.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *La Vie Parisienne au XVIIIe Siècle*, exh. cat. (Musée Carnavalet, Paris, March 20–April 30, 1928), no. 285, p. 51 (illustrated).



4 (before conservation)

Drawings



5

BRITISH

5. SAMUEL PALMER
British, 1805–1881
*Sir Guyon with the Palmer Attending,
Tempted by Phaedria to Land upon the
Enchanted Island—"Faerie Queene,"* 1849
Watercolor and bodycolor with some
gum arabic over black chalk, on
London board, 53.7 x 75.2 cm
(21 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
94.GC.50

Palmer's composition is a free adaptation from a passage in Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (book 2, canto 6). The monumental scale of the watercolor accommodates a vast spatial expanse stretching forth from the brilliant sun in the distance around the foreground and onward to the open waters visible at the left of the image. Radiant with light and color, the landscape is painted in a range of applications, from transparent washes to richly textured stippling and scumbling in opaque bodycolor.

PROVENANCE: By descent from the artist to Giles Pilcher; London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Lister, ed., *The Letters of Samuel Palmer* (Oxford, 1974), p. 554; idem, *Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of Samuel Palmer* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 164, no. 471.



6

DUTCH

6. HENDRICK GOLTZIUS
Dutch, 1558–1617
Portrait of a Man, 1607
Pen and brown ink, incised for transfer, 29.6 x 20.2 cm (11 $\frac{11}{16}$ x 8 in.).
Signed and dated: *A^o HG 1607*.
94.GA.49

In this bust-length portrait of a lavishly costumed man holding a glove Goltzius displays virtuosic pen work evoking a range of rich textures. Both in format and in handling *Portrait of a Man* self-consciously harks back to pen drawings by the revered Netherlandish masters of the past, Lucas van Leyden (1494–1533) and Jan Gossaert (ca. 1478–1533/36). Goltzius's drawing served as the model for Christoffel van Sichem's woodcut in reverse (Holl. 27, no. 135), which was formerly erroneously thought to be a portrait of Otto Heinrich of Schwarzenberg. In his supplement to the catalogue raisonné of 1961 (*Hendrick Goltzius Drawings Rediscovered, 1962–1992* [New York, 1993], p. 70), Reznicek has raised the still-unanswered question as to whether the drawing is a fantasy portrait or a disguised portrait of a specific, but unknown, man.

PROVENANCE: F. W. Klever, Cologne (sale, Heberle, Cologne, January 18–19, 1892, lot 35); private collection (sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 13, 1993, lot 75); London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. K. J. Reznicek, "Drawings by Hendrick Goltzius, Thirty Years Later: Supplement to the 1961 Catalogue Raisonné," *Master Drawings* 31, no. 3 (Autumn 1993), no. K345a, pp. 256–58; idem, *Hendrick Goltzius Drawings Rediscovered, 1962–1992: Supplement to "Die Zeichnungen von Hendrick Goltzius" (1961)* (New York, 1993), no. K345a, pp. 68–70.

FRENCH

7. LOUIS CARMONTELLE
(Louis Carrogis)
French, 1717–1806
The Duchess of Chaulnes as a Gardener in an Allée, 1771
Watercolor with black and red chalk and black ink, 31.7 x 19.1 cm (12 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.). Inscribed: *Mme la Duchesse de Chaulnes, en jardinière. 1771* in brown ink on the lower edge of the mount; inscribed (verso): *327* in brown ink and *B* in graphite on the back of the mount.
94.GC.41



7

This finished drawing is one of seven hundred and fifty portraits that Carmontelle drew of personages at the court of the duc d'Orléans. These portraits, the majority of which are in the Musée Condé at Chantilly, provide an exhaustive record of court life prior to the Revolution. Here, Marie Joseph Louis D'Albert de Luynes (1744–1781), the duchess of Chaulnes, is shown dressed as a gardener.

PROVENANCE: Louis Carrogis de Carmontelle (sale, Paris, April 17, 1807, part of lot 22); Chavalier Richard de Lédans; Pierre de La Mésangère (sale, Paris, July 18, 1831, part of lot 304); John Duff and hence by descent (sale, Christie's, London, December 15, 1992, lot 177); London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. de Lédans, *Catalogue des Portraits dessinés et peints par Louis Carrogis de Carmontelle* (Paris, 1807), ms. p. 78, no. 309, as part of album 9.



8 (.1)

8. CARLE (ANTOINE-CHARLES-HORACE) VERNET
French, 1758–1836
The Return from the Race
The Death of Hippolytus, 1800
Black chalk, stumped and heightened with white; framing line in light brown ink, black chalk and incised,
69.7 x 101.3 cm (27 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 39 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.);
64.7 x 98.5 cm (25 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 38 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)
94.GB.52.1–.2

These large-scale, monochrome drawings were made expressly for exhibition at the Paris Salon of 1800 and were engraved soon after by Jean Godefroy. The attention given to horses in the two scenes accords with Vernet's passionate study of the animal throughout his career. The chariot scene shows an ancient Roman couple returning in triumph from a race,



8 (.2)

as indicated by the wreath of victory hanging from the male figure's belt and the chariot's decoration. The subject of its pendant is taken from Euripides' *Hippolytus*. The drawing represents the climactic moment of the story when the tragic hero loses control of his horses and is dragged to death in his own chariot.

PROVENANCE: M. Constantin, Paris (sale, Paris, March 3, 1817, lot 809); New York art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Paris Salons de 1800, 1801*, facsimile catalogues (New York, 1977), p. 66, nos. 374 and 375; R. Campbell et al., *Visions of Antiquity: Neoclassic Figure Drawings* (Los Angeles, 1993–94), p. 232, under no. 64.



9. EUGENE DELACROIX
French, 1798–1863
The Death of Lara (?), ca. 1825
Watercolor with bodycolor and graphite underdrawing, 17.9 x 25.7 cm (7 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.). Signed: E. Delacroix in ink and graphite twice at the lower left; inscribed (verso): *La Morto Lara* 120f in graphite on the blue paper mount backing.
94.GC.51

The inscription on the back of the old mount is presumably an allusion to Lord Byron's *Lara, A Tale* (1814). Wounded in battle, Lara, a Spanish overlord, lies dying "beneath a lime, remoter from the scene." In extremis he is comforted by Kaled, his page of distant origin, who reveals that she is a woman and confesses her love for him. When first published in 1992, the drawing was thought to represent Tancred and Erminia in a scene from Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*. The absence of Vafrino and the giant Argante, who invariably are featured in scenes of Tancred and Erminia; the inclusion of a small military cap and tartan shawl worn by the female figure; and the aforementioned inscription all signal the Death of Lara as the more likely of the two subjects.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Brittany (sale, Paris, December 23, 1885); Monsieur Cottin; private collection; New York art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Johnson, "Erminia and the Wounded Tancred: A New Tasso Subject by Delacroix," *Apollo* 136, no. 370 (December 1992), pp. 379–83, pl. 1.

10. EDOUARD MANET
French, 1832–1883
Bullfight, 1865
Watercolor, 19.3 x 21.4 cm
(7 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{5}{16}$ in.). Signed: *E. M.* in brown wash at the lower left; inscribed

(verso): *f84 Blanc bis ongl(?) blanc tres epais inscrip E. Manet dates 28–30 vus(?) canneaux 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ Cadre No 3* in graphite by different hands on the lining.

94.GC.100

Manet made a number of paintings and drawings representing bullfights and bullfighters. Letters written to friends record his interest in the energy and drama of these events. This watercolor was made during Manet's trip to Spain in 1865, probably *en place*. The pinholes at the corners of the paper suggest that the drawing was put up on the wall of his studio.

PROVENANCE: M. Schoeller, Paris; Mme. Strolin, Lausanne; Paris art market; London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Daulte, *Le Dessin français, de Manet à Cézanne* (Lausanne, 1954), p. 47, pl. 1; K. Martin, *Edouard Manet, Aquarelle und Pastelle* (Basel, 1958), no. 8; M. Sérullaz, *Les plus beaux dessins du XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1963), p. 70; idem, *Drawings of the Masters, II. French Impressionists* (New York, 1962–64), pp. 21, 70; D. Rouart and D. Wildenstein, *Edouard Manet, Catalogue raisonné, tome II, Pastels, aquarelles et dessins* (Paris, 1975), no. 530; F. Cachin and C. Moffet, *Manet, 1832–1883*, exh. cat. (Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, 1983), p. 239, under no. 91.



GERMAN

II. HANS SEBALD BEHAM

German, 1500–1550

A Standard-Bearer, 1519

Pen and black ink; 18.1 x 9.5 cm

(7 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.). Dated: 1519 in black ink

at the top; inscribed: *Christof amberger*

in brown ink at the bottom; inscribed

(verso): *SB* in ligature in brown ink

and *HScheuflein?* in graphite.

94.GA.53

Friedrich Thöne attributed this to Sebald Beham on the basis of its comparability to other images of standard-bearers by him, such as a drawing in Erlangen, an engraving of 1519 (B. 201 [199], vol. 15, 8 [part 2]), and an etching of 1520 (B. 203 [200], vol. 15, 8 [part 2]). The crudely written ascription to Amberger in the lower left appears to be by the same collector who inscribed several other early sixteenth-century German drawings (compare with H. Mielke, *Albrecht Altdorfer: Zeichnungen, Deckfarbenmalerei, Druckgraphik*, exh. cat. [Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz and Museen der Stadt Regensburg, Berlin, 1988], no. 173, pp. 270–71; W. Schade, “Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie Dessau: Michel Ribestein, Christus am Ölberg,” *Kulturstiftung der Länder—Patrimonia* 51 [Berlin, 1994]).

PROVENANCE: Fürst von und zu Liechtenstein, Vienna (sale, Bern, Klipstein and Kornfeld, June 16, 1960, lot 15); private collection (sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 13, 1993, lot 43); London art market.



II

ITALIAN

12. UMBRIAN SCHOOL

Italian, ca. 1380

A Draped Figure Holding a Book

Silverpoint and point of the brush, heightened with white bodycolor, on green-blue paper, 19.4 x 11.2 cm

(7 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.). Inscribed: collection

marks of William Esdaile (L. 2617)

and John Barnard (L. 1419) on the

mount at lower right in brown ink;

i.6. in black ink; lower center of

mount in gray ink bears Jonathan

Richardson, Sr.'s attribution, *Giunta*

Pisano; 42 x 3 - 1816 Roscoe at lower left



12

corner in brown ink; *fl 1210 - furior* 10 Cimabue. in brown ink; and (?) *the back* in graphite at right edge; inscribed (verso): by the same collector on mount in brown ink, from a previous note by Padre Resta: *A. 59. / T33 / Giunta Pisano, Nom. incognito al Vasario. Pittore Anteriore / a Cimabù. / furono trovati gli Disegni (there were about 6 of them) di Maniera Gre-/canica de tempi Bassi del Principio del Secolo duodecimo in un resposiglio / d'una casa che fù di Pietro Perugino pervenuta circa l'anno 1653. nelli / P.P. dell'Orio di S. Filippo di Perugia assiem. d'altri Disegni tra quali / uno di Pietro della Francesca / P. Resta, K.; J.B. in brown ink; 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 4 $\frac{1}{4}$; Formerly in the coll. of Padre Resta. Richardson / Pond & Bernardo. / 1816 WE. Roscoe coll. P8LN42X / Vide Lanzi 1–8 / Lanzi commences his series of the Florentine schools / with this master, who was prior to Cimabue.; Pond etc. in brown ink; GHP in gray ink.*

94.GA.42

This early Italian drawing bears an attribution to Giunta Pisano by Jonathan Richardson, Sr. A drawing of an allegorical figure by the same hand is in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem, with a similar inscription: *Giunta Pisano dipins dal 1208 al 1236*. The comparable style, subject matter, and size of the two sheets confirms the statement in the inscription to the effect that they were once part of a cache of drawings said to have been found in Perugia. Degenhart and Schmitt suggest that the Haarlem drawing is by a Bolognese hand of the last quarter of the fourteenth century (as mentioned in Christie's sale catalogue, January 13, 1993, lot 5).

PROVENANCE: Padre Sebastiano Resta, Rome; Jonathan Richardson, Sr., London; Arthur Pond, London; John Thane, London; John Barnard, London; William Roscoe, Liverpool (sale, Winstanley, Liverpool, September 23, 1816, lot 8); William Esdaile, London (sale, Christie's, London, June 18, 1840, lot 7); private collection (sale, Christie's, New York, January 13, 1993, lot 5); London art market.



13

13. ANDREA PREVITALI
Italian, ca. 1480–1528
Portrait of a Woman, ca. 1520–25
Black chalk with white chalk heightening on blue paper, 34.7 x 25.9 cm (13⁵/₁₆ x 10³/₁₆ in.). Inscribed: at lower left corner of the mount in graphite, *sebas del Piombo*; collection marks of Jonathan Richardson, Sr. (L. 2184) at right of the collar and J. C. Robinson (L. 1433) at lower left corner; inscribed (verso): in brown ink

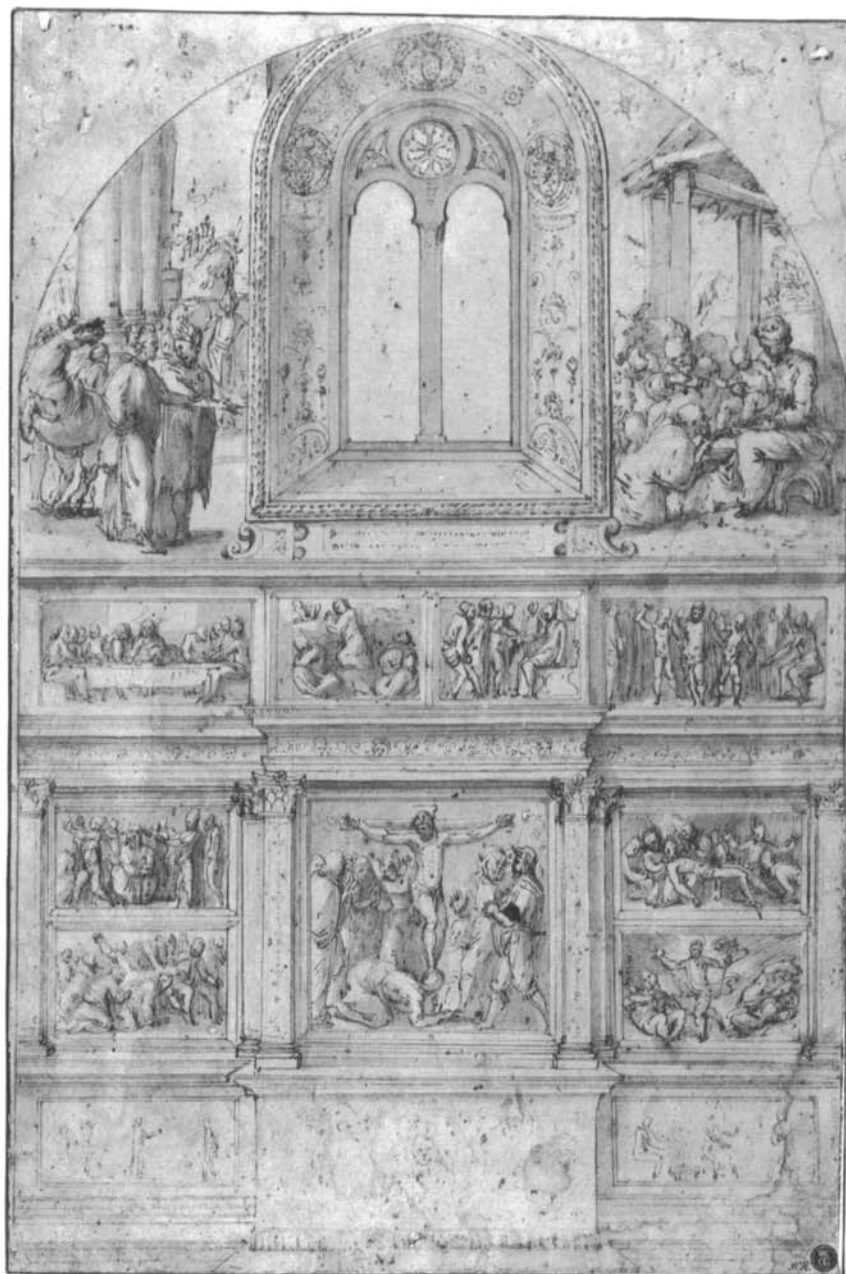
*"S del Piombo"/J. Richardson/"from the Duke of Argyll's collec"/Lord Palmerston/formed 1770–1801/Lord of Churton, age 24 1891/JC Robinson; Lorenzo Lotto 23 x 18 in graphite; collection mark of J. P. Heseltine (L. 1507).
94.GB.36*

In this beautifully worked portrait of an unidentified woman the sitter wears a *schuffa*, or headdress made of hair, which is commonly seen in North Italian portraiture of the early sixteenth century. There is some agreement that the drawing was executed around Bergamo in the 1520s, although the specific attribution remains

a matter of debate. Originally considered to be a drawing by Lorenzo Lotto (ca. 1480–1556), the sheet is now given to Andrea Previtali based on its similarity with his paintings, such as *Madonna Casotti* in the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, and *Family Group* in the collection of Count Moroni, Bergamo.

PROVENANCE: Jonathan Richardson, Sr., London; John, Duke of Argyll (sale, T. Philipe, London, May 21–23, 1798, lot 164); the second Viscount Palmerston and by descent to the Honorable Evelyn Ashley (sale, Christie's, London, April 24, 1891, lot 179); Sir J. C. Robinson, London (sale, Christie's, London, May 12, 1902, lot 194); J. P. Heseltine, London; Henry Oppenheimer, London (sale, Christie's, London, July 13, 1936, lot 154); Baron Hatvany (sale, Christie's, London, June 24, 1980, lot 10); duca Roberto Ferretti, Ontario; London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. P. Heseltine, *Original Drawings by Old Masters of the Schools of North Italy in the Collection of J. P. Heseltine* (London, 1906), no. 15; D. van Hadlen, *Venezianische Zeichnungen des Quattrocento* (Berlin, 1925), p. 65, pl. 85; A. Venturi, "Scelta di rari disegni nei musei d'Europa," *L'Arte* 39 (1926), pp. 10–13, fig. 12; A. Venturi, *Studi dal Vero* (Milan, 1927), p. 268, fig. 168; C. Holmes, "Recent Acquisitions at Trafalgar Square," *Burlington Magazine* 51 (1927), p. 113; A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana* 9, no. 4 (1929), p. 87, fig. 78; K. N. Oettinger, *Belvedere* 9, no. 2 (1930), p. 12, fig. 10; A. E. Popham, *Italian Drawings Exhibited at the Royal Academy, Burlington House, 1930* (London, 1931), no. 259, pl. 226a; H. Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat, *The Drawings of the Venetian Painters in the 15th and 16th Centuries* (New York, 1944), pp. 241–24, A 1373; A. Banti and A. Boschetto, *Lorenzo Lotto* (Florence, 1953), p. 83, under no. 87; F. Heine-mann, *Giovanni Bellini e i Belliniani* (Venice, 1962), vol. 1, p. 146, S. 381; vol. 2, fig. 525; J. Meyer zur Capellan, *Andrea Previtali* (Inaugural Dissertation, Würzburg, 1972), pp. 90–91, 193, no. Z3; D. McTavish, *Italian Drawings from the Collection of Duke Roberto Ferretti*, exh. cat. (Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, and Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1985–86), no. 9.



three shields of arms / may be noticed, one of which bearing the "palle" of / the Medici family and another the oak tree of Urbino / (della Rovere) pen drawing washed with bistre on brown paper. Coll - Count Gelosi / Height 16 Width 10½ / Bought of Whitehead. Mercer's collection April 9/69 £7. 94.GA.47

This drawing is a study for the frescoes located on the left-hand wall of the Cappella della Passione in Santa Maria della Pietà in Campo Santo, within the Vatican. The chapel was assigned to the Swiss Guards in 1520, and the decoration was subsequently commissioned by Captain Kaspar Roist. The Adoration of the Magi appears at the lunette at the top, while the Crucifixion is located at the lower register and is surrounded by smaller scenes of the Passion of Christ. The presence of Pope Adrian VI's coat of arms in the center of the window indicates that the drawing was made during his brief pontificate between 1522 and 23. The drawing is typical of Perino's early style of draftsmanship, and is comparable to his design for the Palazzo Baldassini, now in the Uffizi, Florence (inv. 13561F).

PROVENANCE: Count Gelosi, Turin; Sir J. C. Robinson, London; John Malcolm of Poltalloch; the Honorable A. E. Gathorne-Hardy, London; the Honorable Robert Gathorne-Hardy, London; the British Rail Pension Fund, London; London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K. Andrews, *Italian 16th Century Drawings from British Private Collections*, exh. cat. (The Merchants' Hall, Edinburgh, 1969), p. 26, no. 57; A. Marabottini, *Polidoro da Caravaggio* (Rome, 1969), vol. 1, p. 41, pl. 9; C. White, *Loan Exhibition of Drawings of Old Masters from the Collection of Mr. Geoffrey Gathorne-Hardy*, exh. cat. (P. and D. Colnaghi, London and Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1971), no. 12; L. Ravelli, "Gli Affreschi della Capella della Passione in S. Maria della Pietà in Camposanto a Roma," *Bergamo Arte* (1972), no. 12; E. Parma Armani, *Perino del Vaga: L'anello mancante* (Genoa, 1986), p. 319; J. A. Gere, *Drawings by Raphael and His Circle from the British and North American Collections*, exh. cat. (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1987), no. 74; A. Marabottini, *Polidoro da Caravaggio fra Napoli e Messina* (Naples, 1988), p. 11.

14

14. PERINO DEL VAGA
(Piero Buonaccorsi)
Italian, ca. 1500–1547
Project for a Wall Decoration, ca. 1522
Pen and brown ink, brown wash and traces of black chalk, brown ink framing line, 41.1 x 26.8 cm (16½ x 10½ in.). Inscribed: on mount in black ink *Dosso Dossi*; upper right in graphite 22 and lower right 50; lower left in black ink 50 and lower right 877; collection marks of Count Gelosi (L. 545) and Sir J. C. Robinson (L. 1433); inscribed (verso): *Dosso*

Dossi - Ferrara, born about 1479 / died after 1560 / 844 Ascribed to Dosso Dossi / Design for the entire ordonnance of the end wall / of a chapel, showing the altar of a large window / above it, and the rest of the surface of the wall, / covered with a composition in many compartments / evidently intended to be carried out in fresco. / The picture on the altar represents the Crucifixion, and the principal subject in the upper part / on each side of the window is the Adoration / of the Magi / 8 other compositions on the / usual subjects for the passion of our Savior. / In the—of the window



15

15. GIULIO ROMANO
(Giulio Pippi)
Italian, ca. 1499–1546
Victory, Janus, Chronos, and Gaea,
ca. 1532–34
Pen and brown ink and wash over
black chalk, 37.4 x 31.7 cm
(14¾ x 12½ in.). Collection marks of
Sir Joshua Reynolds (L. 2364) lower
left and Sir Peter Lely (L. 2364) lower
right; inscribed (verso): f^o. 34. N^o 30. / di
Giulio Romano- / buon disegno; J.B. N
570. / 14¾ by 12½; "from Dr. Meads coll" in
brown ink; "PLely . . . Crozat . . ." in
faint black chalk.
94.GA.32

The subject is taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Victory, Janus, Chronos, and Gaea look on in fear as the Giants are cast out of the heavens by the thunderbolts of Jupiter. This carefully finished preparatory drawing is for part of the fresco in the Sala dei

Giganti in the Palazzo del Tè, Mantua, for which three other studies exist (private collection, Paris; Musée du Louvre, Paris [inv. 3476]; and private collection, London).

PROVENANCE: Sir Peter Lely, London; Dr. Mead, London; John Barnard, London; Sir Joshua Reynolds, London; Grand-Ducal collection, Weimar until 1918; continental collector (sale, Christie's, London, April 7, 1981, lot 48); duca Roberto Ferretti, Ontario; London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Hartt, *Giulio Romano* (New Haven, 1958), vol. 1, pp. 159, 299, no. 210; vol. 2, fig. 349; E. Verheyen, *The Palazzo del Tè in Mantua: Images of Love and Politics* (Baltimore and London, 1977), p. 128; D. McTavish, *Italian Drawings from the Collection of Duke Roberto Ferretti*, exh. cat. (Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, and Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1985–86), no. 3; E. H. Gombrich et al., *Giulio Romano*, exh. cat. (Palazzo del Tè, Mantua, 1989), p. 377, entry by K. Oberhuber.

16. GIORGIO VASARI
Italian, 1511–1574
Bearded Man Filling a Glass and Running Youth, ca. 1544–45
Pen and brown ink and wash with white gouache heightening, 44.9 x 19.7 cm (17¾ x 7¾ in.). Collection mark of Paul Sandby (L. 2092).
94.GA.33.1–2

These drawings are preparatory studies for the lateral sections of Giorgio Vasari's painting of *The Feast in the House of Simon*, made for a lunette in the refectory of the monastery of Monteoliveto, Naples, around 1544–45. The study for the central section of the painting is in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (inv. 1951:1). The figures in the left-hand drawing reappear, with some remodification, in Vasari's *Marriage of Esther and Ahasuerus* of 1549, in Arezzo, while the running youth at the right is shown in reverse in Vasari's *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha* of 1539, Saint Michele in Bosco, Bologna.

PROVENANCE: Paul Sandby, London; (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 9, 1981, lot 7); duca Roberto Ferretti, Ontario; London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. C. J. Frerichs, *Italiaanse Tekeningen II: De 15de en 16de Eeuw*, exh. cat. (Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1981), p. 72; P. L. de Castris, "Napoli 1544: Vasari e Monteoliveto," *Bollettino d'Arte* 66, no. 12 (1981), p. 84, n. 16, fig. 5; C. Monbeig Goguel, "Chronique vasarienne," *Revue de l'Art* 56 (1982), p. 70, fig. 8; D. McTavish, *Italian Drawings from the Collection of Duke Roberto Ferretti*, exh. cat. (Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, and Pierpont Morgan Library, New York), nos. 12 and 13.



16



17

17. GIUSEPPE PORTA
(Giuseppe Salviati)
Italian, ca. 1520–ca. 1575
*Christ Above Saints John the Baptist,
Jerome, Catherine, and Thomas*,
ca. 1550–59
Pen and brown ink and brown
wash with white gouache heighten-
ing on blue paper, 20.8 x 10.9 cm
(8 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.).
94.GA.34

The drawing, dating to the mid-1550s, is a preparatory study for Giuseppe Porta's altarpiece in the Bragadin Chapel of the church of San Francesco della Vigna, Venice. The composition of the drawing varies somewhat from that of the painting. In particular, the elongated figures in the drawing have been made more substantial in the painting. The unusual grouping of Saints John the Baptist, Jerome, Catherine, and Thomas seems to have been chosen as a reference to the Christian names of the donor and his family. The relatively loose draftsmanship and the lack of emphatic modeling are common to Giuseppe Porta's later style, as seen in his *modello* of *The Emperor Frederic Barbarossa Kneeling Before Pope Alexander III* at Chatsworth.

PROVENANCE: John Brophy, London; (sale, Sotheby's, London, November 25, 1971, lot 158); (sale, Christie's, London, April 15, 1980, lot 2); duca Roberto Ferretti, Ontario; London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. McTavish, *Italian Drawings from the Collection of Duke Roberto Ferretti*, exh. cat. (Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, and Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1985–86), no. 15.

18. FEDERICO BAROCCI
Italian, ca. 1535–1612
Head of a Boy, ca. 1586–89
Black, red, white, and flesh-colored
chalk (recto); black chalk (verso),
24.8 x 17.5 cm (9 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.).
Inscribed: upper left, *11.* in black ink.
94.GB.35

With fine handling of colored chalk, Barocci drew this head of a boy from life. The angle of the head corresponds with that of Ascanius in the artist's painting of *Aeneas' Flight from Troy*, which was commissioned in 1586 by Emperor Rudolf II (r. 1576–1612). Although the painting is now lost, it is known from an autograph replica now in the Villa Borghese, Rome. Drawings of his that are comparable in style and subject include that of a boy's head in *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian*, 1557, in the Urbino Cathedral (Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, inv. 662).

PROVENANCE: (sale, Christie's, London, April 15, 1980, lot 20); duca Roberto Ferretti, Ontario; London art market.



18

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. McTavish, *Italian Drawings from the Collection of Duke Roberto Ferretti*, exh. cat. (Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, and Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1985–86), no. 23.



19

19. GUERCINO
(Giovanni Francesco Barbieri)
Italian, 1591–1666
Caricature of Two Men Seen in Profile,
ca. 1635
Pen and brown ink with light brown
wash, 20.4 x 17.3 cm (8 x 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.).
Inscribed (verso): *Guercino L.4*
and *20* in graphite.
94.GA.75

Guercino was an accomplished and prolific caricaturist, and his satirical representations rank as some of the most original in seventeenth-century Italian art. With extraordinary economy of means filtered by a sharp perception of the comic, Guercino recorded his acute observations of the people and events of everyday provincial life. This previously unrecorded drawing is most similar to the caricature of two men looking toward the right in the Royal Collection, Windsor Castle (inv. 2748). The men's ungainly physiognomies are further exaggerated by the profile view.

PROVENANCE: German art market; London art market.



20

20. ALESSANDRO ALGARDI
Italian, 1595–1654
and
GIOVANNI FRANCESCO GRIMALDI
Italian, 1606–1680
Landscape with the Holy Family,
ca. 1650
Pen and brown ink with brown
wash, 36.5 x 26.4 cm (14 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{5}{16}$ in.).
Inscribed: bottom edge, unidentified
collector's mark TC.
94.GA.78

In this drawing of a *Landscape with the Holy Family*, Alessandro Algardi, the "senior partner," adds a figural composition to the landscape of his "junior colleague,"

Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi. The two men worked in collaboration on architectural commissions, including designs for reliquary caskets such as the ones in the British Museum, London (inv. At-10–100, At-10–101). This drawing is similar to an engraving by Grimaldi that depicts an Adoration of Angels in a landscape (B. 15 [92], vol. 42, 19 [pt. 2]). The loose handling of the pen and ink is most similar to Grimaldi's drawing of a landscape with Virgin and child in the Royal Collection, Windsor (inv. 6147).

PROVENANCE: Unidentified collector, "TC"; Paris art market.

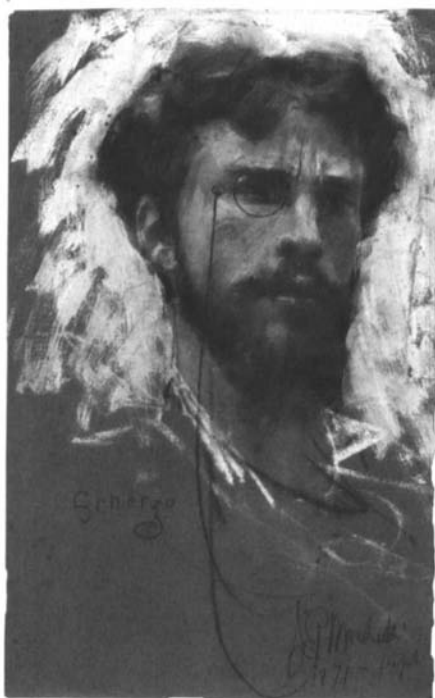
BIBLIOGRAPHY: *European Master Drawings* (Kunsthandel Bellinger, New York; Galerie de Bayser, Paris; Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, London, 1994), no. 21 (dealer catalogue).

21. FRANCESCO PAOLO MICHETTI
Italian, 1851–1929
Self-Portrait, 1877
Pastel and gouache on paper, 45.7 x
28.4 cm (18 x 11 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.). Signed: *F P*
Michetti/1877 - Napoli lower right and
Scherzo at left in black chalk.
94.GG.48

In 1877 Francesco Paolo Michetti received acclaim for his painting of *The Procession of the Corpus Domini*. At this time he also drew several self-portraits, including this one. The intense expression and bravura handling convey the young artist's self-assurance at the age of twenty-six. This direct and immediate self-portrait marks a point of closure in the evolution of traditional Italian figure drawing, and anticipates Michetti's later career as one of the outstanding photographers of his time.

PROVENANCE: Giancarlo Baroni, Paris; M. R. Schweitzer, New York; James Coats, New York; David Daniels, New York; private collection (sale, Sotheby's, New York, October 13, 1993); New York art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Bennett and A. Mongan, *Salute to Italy: 100 Years of Italian Art, 1861–1961*, exh. cat. (Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, 1961), p. 29; *Selections from the Drawing Collection of David Daniels*, exh. cat. (Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge; The Minneapolis Institute of Arts; Art Institute of Chicago; Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, 1968); R. J. M. Olsen, *Italian Drawings, 1780–1890*, exh. cat. (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; The Minneapolis Institute of Arts; The Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, 1980–81), no. 95.



21

SPANISH

22. JUAN DE JUANES
 Spanish, ca. 1510–1579
Christ on the Road to Calvary, ca. 1560
 Pen and brown ink, black chalk
 with brown wash, 21 x 34.8 cm
 (8¼ x 13⅞ in.)
 94.GA.95

For most of the sixteenth century, Valencian painting was dominated by the Maçip family, consisting of Vicente Maçip, his son Juan de Juanes, and his offspring. With few changes, Juan continued the style of his father, which combines Flemish elements with a strong Italian influence derived from prints after Raphael, Leonardo, and Michelangelo and a direct knowledge of some of the paintings of Sebastiano del Piombo. The drawing shown here is stylistically close to Juan's *Saint Stephen Being Led to His Execution* (Courtauld Institute of Art, London), which also is drawn in roughly handled pen and ink with abundant hatching and is arranged in an isocephalic composition.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Germany; New York art market.



23

23. ATTRIBUTED TO FRANCISCO RIBALTA
 Spanish, 1565–1628
The Coronation of the Virgin,
 ca. 1600–28
 Pen and brown ink and wash, 28.8 x
 18.7 cm (11⅜ x 7⅜ in.); dry stamp
 of an unidentified collector (L. 728)
 in the lower right corner; (verso)
 partially traced through in pen
 and brown ink.
 94.GA.90

Around 1600, Ribalta and his followers replaced the Maçip dynasty as the dominant school of painting in Valencia. The style of this drawing is comparable to two pen-and-ink and wash studies attributed to the artist, *Christ with the Eucharist* and *The Savior* (lost in 1936; both formerly located in Instituto Jovellanos, Gijón).

PROVENANCE: New York art market.



22

24. EUGENIO CAJÉS

(Caxés)

Spanish, 1574–1634

Triumph of the Cross, ca. 1613–34

Brown wash, black and red chalk;

23.4 x 22.2 cm (9¼ x 8¾ in.)

94.GA.81

The son of Patrizio Cascesi, the Tuscan painter who had come to work at the Escorial in 1567, Cajés studied in Rome and returned to Spain where he eventually became a royal painter in 1612. He and his friend and sometimes collaborator, Vicente Carducho, were the dominant artists working for King Philip III (r. 1598–1621). In this drawing the cross is carried aloft by angels, accompanied by an ecstatic heavenly concert. In style it is consistent with other wash drawings by Cajés, such as *Religious Scene in a Temple* (Musée du Louvre, Département des arts graphiques, Paris, inv. RF 42638). Florentine influences also are apparent in the drawings reminiscent of the work of Jacques Callot (1592–1635) and Giovanni Bilivert (1585–1644).

PROVENANCE: Hans Calmann, London; private collection, Germany; New York art market.



24



25

25. VICENTE CARDUCHO

Spanish, ca. 1576–1638

Saint Jerome Hearing the Trumpet of the Last Judgment, ca. 1626–32

Black chalk and brown wash with lead white heightening, squared in black chalk; 31.8 x 21.6 cm (12½ x 8½ in.). Inscribed: *De Bencio Carducho*/20 Rls in brown ink in the upper left corner and 20 Rls in brown ink in the lower left corner; collection mark of Luigi Grassi (L. Suppl. 117b) in the lower left corner; (verso) unidentified collection mark.

94.GA.86

In this drawing Carducho depicts Saint Jerome holding a pen in his right hand and raising his left as he hears the sound of the trumpet of the Last Judgment, a pose that recalls one of Jusepe de Ribera's two etchings of the same subject made in 1621. The sketchy chalk lines, prominent use of white, and squaring are characteristic of many of Carducho's drawings, such as *The Birth of the Virgin* (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, inv. B. 13), which, like this and a number of other drawings by the artist, is inscribed with his name in an old hand, possibly that of a seventeenth-century collector.

PROVENANCE: Luigi Grassi, Florence; Anton Schmid, Munich and Vienna; New York art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Angulo and A. E. Pérez Sánchez, *A Corpus of Spanish Drawings: Madrid, 1600–1650* (London, 1977), vol. 2, no. 190, pl. 52.

26. JUAN DEL CASTILLO
Spanish, ca. 1590–ca. 1657
Saint Jerome (recto); *Kneeling Male Nude* (verso), ca. 1630–50
Pen and brown ink (recto and verso),
21 x 14.9 cm (8¼ x 5⅞ in.). Inscribed:
Castillo in brown ink in the lower
left corner.
94.GA.84

A major painter of Seville during the 1630s and 1640s, Juan del Castillo practiced a retrospective style combining various Spanish influences with those of Central Italian Mannerists, notably the Zuccari. Among the few drawings attributed to him, this and number 27 in this volume (see page 78) have the most substantial claim to his authorship. They have been ascribed by Jonathan Brown on the basis of the identical, probably seventeenth-century, inscriptions of the artist's name appearing on both, and on their style, with its erratic, rough pen lines and pronounced parallel hatching. Brown detects in these examples a precedent for

the Sevillian style of drawing practiced later by Bartolomé Murillo (1617–1682) and Alonso Cano (1601–1667).

PROVENANCE: Anton Schmid, Munich and Vienna; New York art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Angulo and A. E. Pérez Sánchez, *A Corpus of Spanish Drawings, 1400–1600*, vol. 1 (London, 1975), no. 110, p. 35; J. Brown, *Murillo and His Drawings*, exh. cat. (The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1976), pp. 24–25; M. Mena Marqués, “Murillo as a Draftsman,” in *Bartolomé Murillo, 1617–1682*, ed. M. Mena Marqués et al., exh. cat. (Museo del Prado, Madrid and Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1982–83), p. 63, under no. 8.



26 (verso)



26 (recto)



27 (recto)



27 (verso)

27. JUAN DEL CASTILLO
Standing Allegorical Figure (Amititias)
 (recto); *Crucifixion* (verso),
 ca. 1630–50
 Pen and brown ink, 21.7 x 14.8 cm
 (8 5/8 x 5 7/8 in.). Inscribed: by the artist
Cerca, Lexos, Muerte, Vida within the
 figure in brown ink, and *Amititias* at
 her feet; *Castillo* in brown ink at the
 lower right; inscribed (verso): *Mo RI*
 in brown ink.
 94.GA.85



28

The female figure on the recto wearing billowing robes and resting her foot on a sphere might be an allegory of friendship, as indicated by the inscriptions. The sketch on the verso, which shows a man being crucified, is drawn from a low vantage point that emphasizes the tortured deformation of his body. Like the verso of number 26 (see page 77), this study of a martyr, with its lack of physical idealization and open, rough pen work, calls to mind the precedent of Jusepe de Ribera (1588–1652), as in his drawings such as *The Crucifixion of Saint Peter* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

PROVENANCE: Anton Schmid, Munich and Vienna; New York art market.

28. ANTONIO DEL CASTILLO Y SAAVEDRA
 Spanish, 1616–1668
Saint Jerome Hearing the Trumpet of the Last Judgment, ca. 1645–50
 Reed pen and brown ink with white gouache heightening on green prepared paper; black chalk and dark brown ink framing line, 29.3 x 19.8 cm (11 5/8 x 7 7/8 in.). Monogrammed: A.C. at the bottom right; inscribed: 196 rs(?) and No 57 in brown ink at the bottom left and center, and 92 in black chalk in the lower right corner; inscribed (verso): *perhaps by Antonio del Castillo* in graphite on a piece of paper glued to the mount and several other illegible inscriptions.
 94.GA.87

The depiction of the truncated end of the trumpet reflects the influence of Jusepe de Ribera's etching of *Saint Jerome Hearing the Trumpet of the Last Judgment* of 1621. Otherwise, Antonio's conception differs markedly from that of Ribera, most notably in the robust physique of the saint and his beatific gaze toward heaven as he hears the trumpet's blast. The artist portrayed Saint Jerome in a number of drawings (for example, Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg, inv. 38508, and Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, Ithaca, inv. 56.517) and in a painting of 1655 (Museo del Prado, Madrid), but this is the only one among these that depicts the saint with the trumpet of the Last Judgment.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Germany; New York art market.



29

29. ATTRIBUTED TO
JUAN MARTÍN CABEZALERO
Spanish, ca. 1633–1673
Saint Francis (?) Interceding with the Virgin on Behalf of a Female Saint,
ca. 1665–70
Pen and brown ink, brown wash
over black chalk, 22 x 14.7 cm
(8¹¹/₁₆ x 5³/₄ in.). Inscribed: *FD ZURB*
at the lower left in brown ink; collec-
tion mark of Hubert de Marignane
in the lower right corner; inscribed
(verso): *Zurbaran* in black chalk.

94.GA.97

Formerly ascribed to Francisco Zurbarán, this drawing can be compared to Cabezalero's *The Raising of the Cross* (Museo del Prado, Madrid), a preparatory study for a painting in the Chapel of the Third Order, Madrid. Similarities between the two drawings include tenebristic modeling of the forms in large passages of wash alternating with patches of the blank white paper and broken pen lines that outline the forms. Cabezalero spent a number of years in the studio of Juan Carreño (1614–1685) in Madrid, and was one of his more talented pupils.

PROVENANCE: Hubert de Marignane, Paris; private collection (sale, Nicolas Rauch, Geneva, June 13–15, 1960, lot 448); private collection, Europe; New York art market.

30. JUAN CARREÑO DE MIRANDA

Spanish, 1614–1685

The Visitation, ca. 1655–60

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, and white heightening with touches of black chalk; fragmentary sketch in black chalk (verso). 24.7 x 23.6 cm (9³/₄ x 9¹/₂ in.). Collection mark of the Duke of Savoy-Aosta (L. Suppl. 47a) in the lower left corner; inscribed (verso): *A. gherardiani* in graphite.

94.GA.91

The handling of this drawing includes welters of nervous and irregular pen lines combined with patches of white heightening thinly brushed on, and a searching manner of sketching the forms, often experimenting with several poses in a single figure. Such a style also recalls that of the Florentine Alessandro Gherardini (1655–1726), to whom the drawing presumably was once attributed.



30

The manner of drawing may, however, be compared with that of Carreño's *Study for the Assumption of the Virgin* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Cornelius Vanderbilt, 1880, 80.3.490), which is a study for the painting in the Muzeum Wielkopolski, Poznań, made during the mid-1650s.

PROVENANCE: Duke of Savoy-Aosta, region of Brianza, Italy; private collection, Germany; New York art market.



31

31. FRANCISCO DE HERRERA THE YOUNGER
(El Mozo)

Spanish, 1627–1685

The Assumption of the Virgin, ca. 1655–80

Pen and brown ink, brown wash over black chalk, 30.6 x 21.8 cm (12¹/₂ x 8¹/₂ in.). Inscribed: *Mozo* in brown ink at the bottom (partially trimmed away) and an illegible, trimmed inscription in the lower left corner; dry stamp of François Renaud (L. Suppl. 1042) in the lower right corner.

94.GA.83

One of the most original and influential Spanish painters of the seventeenth century, Herrera the Younger developed a manner notable for formal dynamism, brilliant color, and lively brushwork. This drawing may be compared with

other sheets attributed to the artist, such as *Angels with the Cross* (Museo del Prado, Madrid).

PROVENANCE: F. Renaud, Paris; private collection, Munich; New York art market.



32

32. BARTOLOMÉ ESTEBAN MURILLO
Spanish, 1617–1682
The Young John the Baptist with the Lamb, ca. 1655; *A History Scene (Dido and Aeneas?)* (verso of the mount; not illustrated).
Pen and brown ink over black chalk; pen and brown ink (verso of the mount), 27.2 x 19.2 cm (10³/₁₆ x 7⁷/₁₆ in.).
Inscribed: *Bartolome Murillo. fa^t* in brown ink at the lower center margin; collection mark of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (L. 1612; verso of the mount).

94.GA.79

On the basis of its rough pen work, with parallel hatching used for interior modeling and cross hatching for shadows, Jonathan Brown groups this with similarly rendered drawings by Murillo, probably made in the mid-1650s. Like certain other autograph drawings by the artist (including number 40 [see page 83] and one already in the Museum's collection [90.GG.137]), it is inscribed with his name in what is probably a seventeenth-century hand, referred to by Brown as that of the "Contemporary

Collector." Murillo's adolescent Baptist projects tenderness and intimacy, as he sits casually on a rock, stroking his lamb. On the verso of the piece of laid paper to which Murillo's drawing is mounted is a faint sketch, also perhaps by the artist, showing a history scene, possibly one of Dido and Aeneas.

PROVENANCE: J. A. Ceán Bermúdez; M. de Beurnonville; A. von Beckerath, Berlin; Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin; Bode Museum, Berlin (deaccessioned); private collection, Munich; New York art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Lefort, "Murillo et ses élèves," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 12 (1875), pp. 259, 261; idem, *Murillo et ses élèves suivi du catalogue raisonné de ses principaux ouvrages* (Paris, 1892), p. 55; J. Brown, *Murillo and His Drawings*, exh. cat. (The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1976), p. 22 and no. 9, p. 72.

33. ATTRIBUTED TO JUAN VALDÉS LEAL
Spanish, 1622–1690
The Agony in the Garden, ca. 1655–60
Pen and brown ink, brown wash and black chalk, 28.8 x 21.3 cm (11³/₁₆ x 8³/₁₆ in.). Inscribed: *Ambulabis in fortitudinis usque ad mortem* [Go in strength unto death] by the artist in brown ink in the banderole held by angels at the top.

94.GA.96

Active in Córdoba and Seville, Valdés's style was initially influenced by Antonio del Castillo y Saavedra (1616–1668) and later by Francisco Herrera the Elder



33

(ca. 1590–1654). Very little is known about his drawn oeuvre. The attribution to him of this beautiful and moving drawing is based on a comparison with paintings such as *The Liberation of Saint Peter* of circa 1656 (Seville Cathedral) and *The Annunciation* of circa 1661 (University of Michigan Museum of Art, Ann Arbor).

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Munich; New York art market.



34

34. ALONSO CANO
Spanish, 1601–1667
The Virgin and Child Appearing to Two Bishops, ca. 1652–67
Red chalk, squared with stylus, 20.1 x 18 cm (7¹⁵/₁₆ x 7¹/₁₆ in.).
Inscribed (verso): illegible inscription in black chalk.

94.GA.94

Cano's authorship of this previously unpublished example is supported by its similarity to other chalk drawings by him, such as *Madonna della Misericordia*, a late drawing of around 1654–57 (Alcubierre collection, Madrid).

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Switzerland; New York art market.



35

35. PEDRO ANASTASIO DE BOCANEGRA
Spanish, 1638–1689
A Saint in Glory, ca. 1660–89
Pen and brown ink, 16 x 10.9 cm
(6 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.). Inscribed (verso):
illegible inscription in pencil
on the mount.
94.GA.92

Bocanegra was a student of Alonso Cano at Granada, where Cano worked from 1660 until his death in 1667. Later in his career, he worked in Seville and Madrid, where he became court painter in 1676. His drawings are extremely rare. This example, with its pronounced diagonal hatching reflecting Cano's influence, accords well with the signed pen study of Saint Jerome by Bocanegra in the Uffizi, Florence (inv. 10103 S.).

PROVENANCE: Sauerwein collection, Munich;
private collection, Germany; New York
art market.

36. ANTONIO DEL CASTILLO Y SAAVEDRA
Spanish, 1616–1668
Study of Four Male Heads, ca. 1660–68
Reed pen and brown ink; 21 x 15.5 cm
(8 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.). Monogrammed:
A.C. in the center.
94.GA.88

This is one of many studies of heads of men and women by Antonio. The clear hatching and carefully disposed *mis en page* suggest that this, like many other such sheets by him, was made either with the intention of publication in an instructional book on drawing or to sell on the market as a finished work.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Europe; New
York art market.



36

37. JOSÉ XIMÉNEZ DONOSO

Spanish, ca. 1632–1690

Equestrian Portrait of Don Juan of Austria, ca. 1660–80

Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash, white chalk, squared in black chalk; fragmentary sketch in black chalk (verso), 23.1 x 21.3 cm (9 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.). Inscribed (verso): *Album sur . . . (?)* in black chalk.

94.GA.93

Don Juan, the illegitimate son of King Philip IV (r. 1621–65), was sent to Naples at the age of eighteen to quell the anti-Spanish revolt led by Tommaso Aniello da Amalfi, known as Masaniello. Don Juan remained in Naples from October 1647 until September 1648. Some time during this period Ribera painted an equestrian portrait of him (Palacio Real, Madrid), on which he based his etching of 1648. The mounted figure of Don Juan in this drawing by Donoso is derived from the second state of the etching, which shows the subject with a mustache rather than as the beardless youth encountered in the painting and in the first state of the etching. The drawing contains figures that are not found in the etching, notably the tumultuous crowd of soldiers and the vanquished enemy surrounding Don Juan. These subsidiary figures are comparable to those in *The Virgin of Victory* (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid), a study for Donoso's lost high altar for the church of San Francisco de Paular, Madrid.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Germany; New York art market.



37



38

38. ATTRIBUTED TO MIGUEL MARCH

Spanish, ca. 1638–1670

The Apparition of the Virgin and Child to a Male Saint, ca. 1660–70

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, and black chalk, 21 x 14.4 cm (8 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.). Inscribed: *E. Madrileña* in brown ink in the lower right corner of the mount.

94.GA.99

The short-lived Valencian painter Miguel March is the proposed author of this drawing. Its abbreviated, broken pen style and simplified modeling of the forms in wash alternating with blank paper recall the drawing *The Adoration of the Magi* (Museo del Prado, Madrid, bequest of F. Durán, inv. 1394), which bears an ascription to the artist in a seventeenth-century hand.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Germany; New York art market.

39. PEDRO DE MENA Y MEDRANO

Spanish, 1628–1688

Study for a Statue of Queen Isabella the Catholic, 1675

Pen and brownish-gray ink, yellow and gray washes, touches of red wash, with black chalk underdrawing, 34.4 x 23.4 cm (13 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.). Inscribed: *F* and *Y* in brown ink with yellow wash in the baldichino over the Queen's head; and *bara* in brown ink at the bottom right; signed: *Po demena* *fe* in brown ink at the bottom left; unidentified collection marks *M* and *S* in the bottom left corner; inscribed (verso): with the authorizing signatures *Fr(ay) Franc(is)co Ar(zobis) po de Granada, Don Eug(en)i)o de Ribadeneyra, Don Francisco Jerrez y Maca . . . (?)*, *Don Suarez . . . de toledo y b(regon), Don Martin de Ascargota* (above which in a later hand), *este fue tamb(ie)n arzob(is)po a Granada*, *D(on) Pedro de Urrea*; illegible inscription in brown ink in the lower center.

94.GA.82

This highly worked example in pen and watercolor served as the *modelo* for de Mena's marble statue of Queen Isabella (r. 1474–1504), which he made in conjunction with one of King Ferdinand (r. 1479–1516), around 1675–77, for the main chapel of the cathedral of Granada. On the verso are the authorizing signatures of the archbishop of Granada, his secretary, the acting canon of the cathedral, and other chapel representatives. De Mena's drawing for the statue of the king, which like the present example was in the Carderera collection, Madrid, has disappeared. The decoration of the Capilla Mayor of the cathedral of Granada, which took place from the 1650s through the 1670s, was one of the principal Spanish sculptural projects of the seventeenth century.

PROVENANCE: Don Valentin Carderera y Solano, Madrid; Anton Schmid, Munich and Vienna; New York art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: El Conde de la Viñaza, *Adiciones al Diccionario Histórico de los Más Ilustres Profesores de las Bellas Artes en España de D. Juan Agustín Cean Bermúdez* (Madrid, 1894), vol. 3, p. 41; R. de Orueta y Duarte, *La Vida y la Obra de Pedro de Mena y Medrano* (Madrid, 1914), p. 235; H. Arenhamner, "Zwei Werke des Pedro de Mena in Wien," *Alte und Neue Kunst* 3 (1954), pp. 128–32, n. 7; A. E. Pérez Sánchez, *Historia del dibujo en España de la Edad Media a Goya* (Madrid, 1986), pp. 305–8.



39



40

40. BARTOLOMÉ ESTEBAN MURILLO
The Christ Child as the Good Shepherd,
 ca. 1675–80
 Pen and brown ink over black chalk,
 13.2 x 10.3 cm (5 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 4 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.).
 Inscribed: *Bartolome Murillo* in
 brown ink at the lower center and
 3 in brown ink in the lower left
 corner; inscribed (verso): fragmentary
 text of letter.
 94.GA.80

This is one of a number of images in which Murillo portrayed Christ the Good Shepherd as a small child. Compared to the celebrated painting of the same subject of 1655–60 in the Museo del Prado, Madrid, which shows the little boy seated while his flock grazes amidst classical ruins, this is a more active rendering in which the diminutive child walks uphill carrying a lamb on his shoulders. It might evoke Matthew 18:12: “How think ye? If a man have a hundred sheep, and one of them be gone astray, doth he not leave the ninety and nine, and goeth into mountains, and seeketh that which is gone astray?” Brown proposes that the ragged, notational pen work is typical of Murillo’s later manner of drawing. This example was inscribed with the artist’s name by the “Contemporary Collector” (see above, number 32 [see page 80]).

PROVENANCE: Sir William Stirling-Maxwell, England; Lt.-Col. William Stirling, Keir (sale, Sotheby’s, London, October 21, 1963, lot 24); private collection, Munich; New York art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. Angulo Iniguez, "Miscelanea Murillesca," *Archivo Español de Arte* 34 (1961), p. 15; idem, "Algunos dibujos de Murillo," *Archivo Español de Arte* 47 (1974), p. 106; G. McKim Smith, *Spanish Baroque Drawings in North American Collections*, exh. cat. (University of Kansas Museum of Art, Lawrence, 1974), p. 51, under no. 27; J. Brown, *Murillo and His Drawings*, exh. cat. (The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1976), no. 88, p. 176.

41. FRANCISCO RIZI

Spanish, 1614–1685

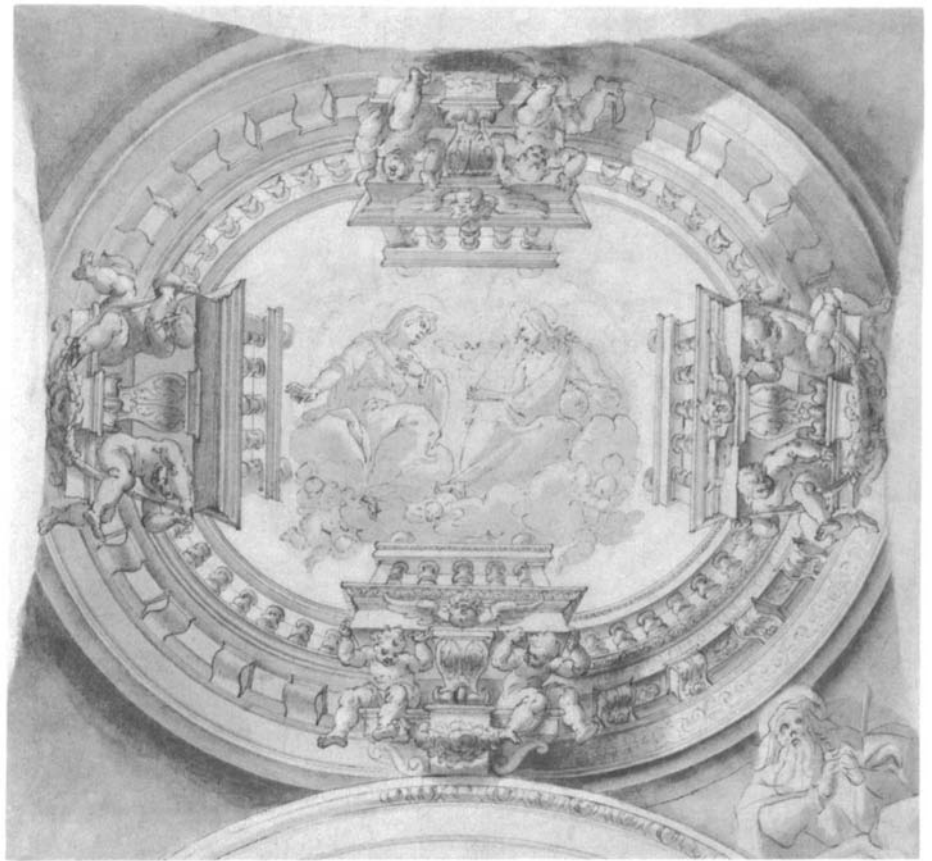
Study for a Ceiling with the Virgin and Christ in Glory, ca. 1678

Pen and brown ink and brown wash with graphite, incised, 27.7 x 28.8 cm (10⁹/₁₆ x 11³/₁₆ in.). Inscribed (verso): *Italian school 17th century/Design for a vault and TMD in graphite.*

94.GA.89

Rizi was one of the outstanding Spanish masters of *quadratura* (ceiling painting involving the illusionistic projection of architectural space). This drawing might be a discarded design for the Capilla del Milagro in the Convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid; in 1678 Rizi decorated its dome with a *quadratura* scene showing the Coronation of the Virgin.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Germany; New York art market.



41

42. ATTRIBUTED TO

JUAN CONCHILLOS FALCÓ

Spanish, 1641–1711

A Monk Carrying a Cross, ca. 1680–1700

Pen and brown ink, brown wash over black chalk, 25.6 x 16.1 cm (10¹/₁₆ x 6⁵/₁₆ in.). Collection mark of Sir John Witt (L. Suppl. 646; verso).

94.GA.98

The spare style of this drawing, with its scratchy pen work and raking light, complements the subject, which features a religious ascetic enacting the Passion. Although formerly ascribed to Murillo and Carreño, it is closer to drawings by Conchillos, such as the group of signed sheets depicting the life of Saint Thomas of Villaneuva (sale, Madrid, Sotheby's, Peel y Asociados, May 18, 1993, lot 69). A pupil of Esteban March, Conchillos was a late representative of the Valencian tradition, which was characterized by naturalism in the service of extreme spirituality and asceticism.



42

PROVENANCE: Sir John Witt, London; private collection, Germany; New York art market.

Manuscripts

43. *Pentecost*

Cutting from a manuscript

Illuminated by Girolamo da Cremona

(active 1451–1483)

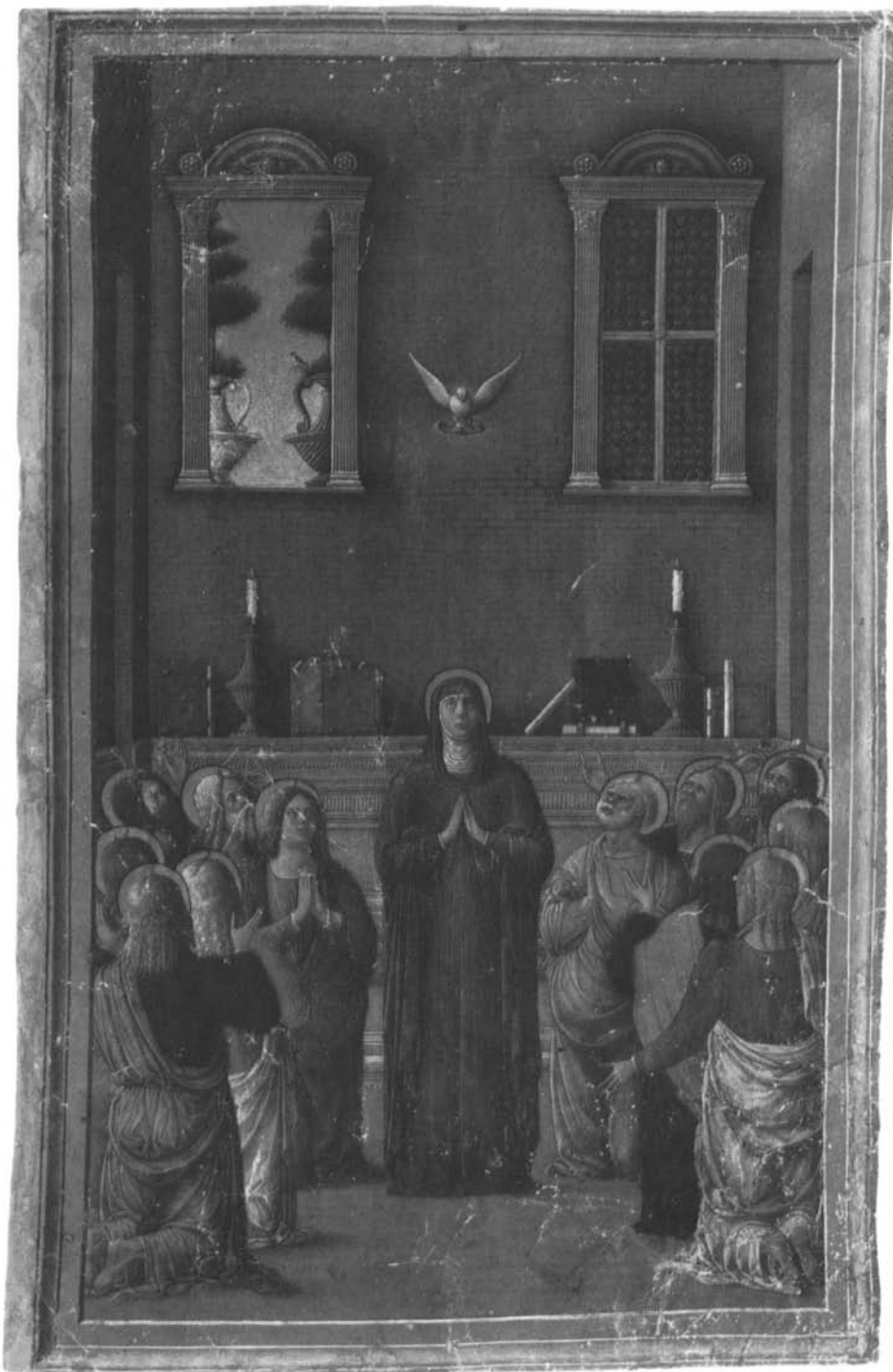
Mantua(?), ca. 1460–70

Vellum, 20.1 x 12.9 cm (7¹⁵/₁₆ x 5¹/₁₆ in.).

One full-page miniature.

Ms. 55; 94.MS.13

PROVENANCE: Guy Ladrière, Paris.





44

44. Historiated Initial *D* with *Noah Directing the Construction of the Ark* Cutting from an antiphonal illumination attributed to Master B. F. (active ca. 1495–1510)
Lombardy, ca. 1495–1510
Vellum, 16.8 x 17 cm (6 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.). Latin text in a Gothic book hand, music in square notation on a four-line staff. One historiated initial.
Ms. 56; 94.MS.18

CONTENTS: The historiated *D* is the initial letter of the first responsory at Matins for Quinquagesima (Hesbert 6472). The text on the verso is *[fin]is universe*.

PROVENANCE: K. E. Hasse (1810–1902) [collector's mark (Lugt 860) on recto]; by inheritance to his son-in-law, Ernst Ehlers, and his wife (C. G. Boerner sale, Leipzig, May 9–10, 1930, lot 257); Lewis Randall collection, Montreal; by inheritance to his wife; [Jörn Günther, Hamburg]; [Sam Fogg, London].

COMMENTARY: The initial may belong to the same set of choir books as the initial *C* with *King David* in the Wildenstein Collection (Musée Marmottan, Paris). Mirella Levi d'Ancona has linked this and a large group of the other cuttings by Master B. F. to twenty volumes of choir books probably made for the church of Saints Angelo and Niccolò at Villanova Silaro near Milan.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Levi d'Ancona, *The Wildenstein Collection of Illuminations: The Lombard School* (Florence, 1970), p. 99.

45. Book of Hours, Use of Rome
Illuminated by the Spitz Master, the Master of the Harvard Hannibal, and others
France, probably Paris, ca. 1415–25
Vellum, ii + 247 + iii leaves. Collation: 1¹², 2¹⁰, 3², 4–5⁸, 6⁸ + 1 (fol. 49), 7–11⁸, 12⁸⁻¹ (after fol. 93), 13–16⁸, 17⁹, 18–19⁸, 20⁸⁻¹ (after fol. 160), 21⁸, 22⁵, 23⁶ (irregular), 24⁷, 25–31⁸, 32³, 33².

The gatherings are numbered in pencil at the lower left corner of the first leaf (except that gatherings 4 and 33 are not numbered). There are catchwords, mostly fragmentary, on fols. 12v, 22v, 24v, 173v, 179v, 243v. Leaf: 20.1 x 15 cm (7 $\frac{15}{16}$ x 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.). Text area: 9.2 x 6 cm (3 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.), one column, fourteen lines. Latin and French text, in a Gothic book hand. One full-page miniature, three three-quarter-page miniatures, seventeen half-page miniatures, twenty-one historiated borders, numerous decorated borders, three historiated initials, numerous decorated initials. Red silk velvet over pasteboard binding.
Ms. 57; 94.ML.26

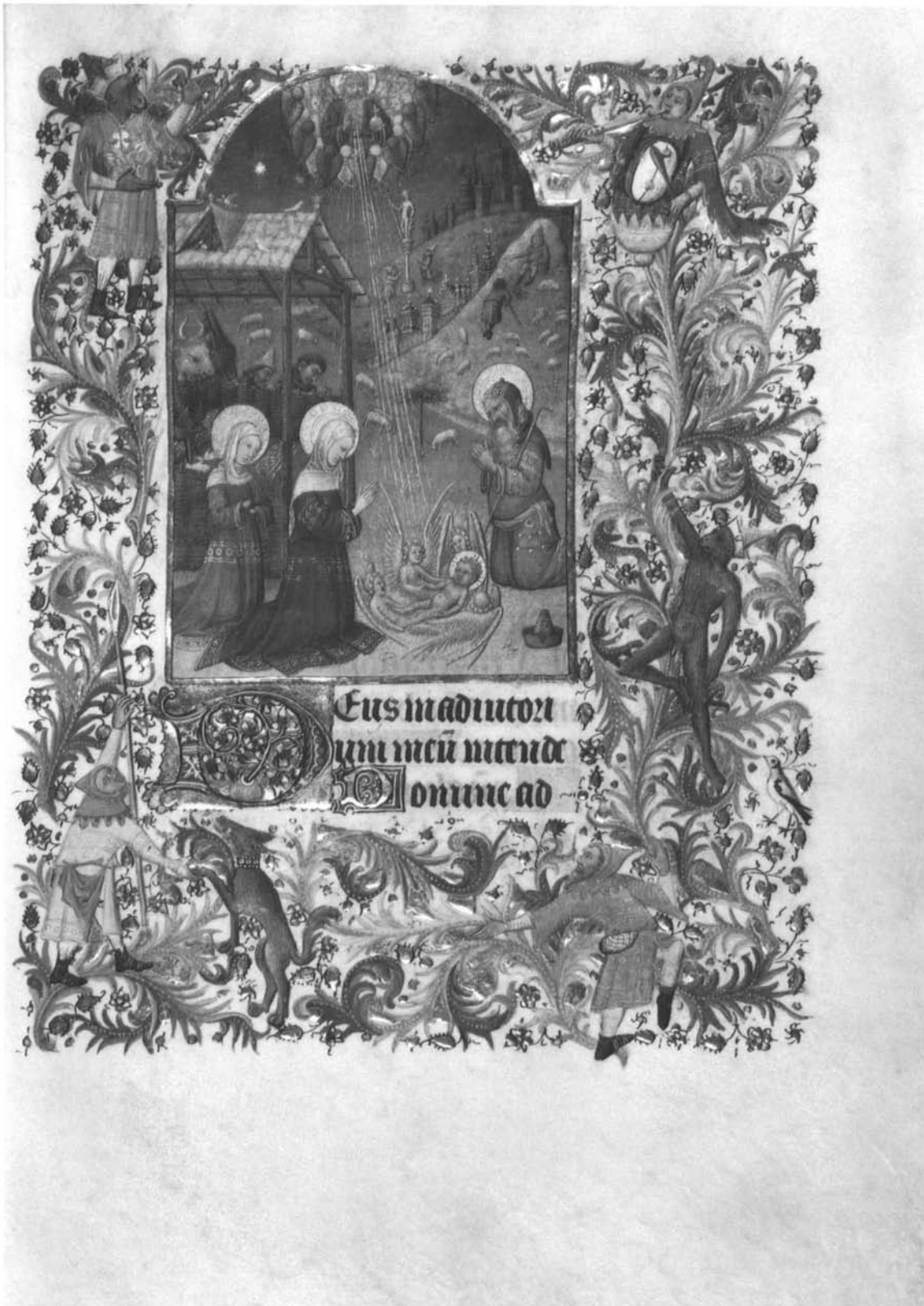
CONTENTS: Calendar, in French (fols. 1–12v); The Passion according to Saint John (fols. 13–24v): *The Entry into Jerusalem* (fol. 13); Gospel sequences (fols. 25–30v): *The Four Evangelists Writing* (fol. 25); The Passion according to Saint John (fols. 31–32v): *The Way to Calvary* (fol. 31); Prayer (fols. 32v–33); *Obsecro te* (fol. 33v–38); *Virgin and Child Enthroned* (fol. 33v); *O intemerata* and memorial of Saint Christopher (fols. 38–42); Suffrage of Saint Christopher (fols. 42v–44v): *Saint Christopher Carrying the Christ Child* (fol. 42v); Prayers in honor of many saints (fols. 44v–45); Memorial of Saint Catherine (fol. 45); Suffrages of Saints Catherine, Michael, Peter, Paul, James, and Sebastian (fols. 45v–48): *Saint Catherine Tended by Angels and Visited by the Queen* (fol. 45v); Memorial of Saint Sebastian (fol. 48v): initial *S* with *The Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* (fol. 48v); Suffrage of Saint Anthony and indulgence prayer (fols. 49–49v): initial *V* with *Saint Anthony Abbot* (fol. 49); The Hours of the Virgin, Use of Rome (fols. 50–125): *The Annunciation* (fol. 50), *The Visitation* (fol. 71), *The Nativity* (fol. 84), *The Annunciation to the Shepherds* (fol. 89v), *The Presentation in the Temple* (fol. 98v), *The*

Flight into Egypt (fol. 103v), *The Coronation of the Virgin* (fol. 112); Mass of the Virgin (fols. 125–129v); Marian antiphons (fols. 130–133v): initial *S* with *The Virgin and Child in an Enclosed Garden* (fol. 130); Seven Joys of the Virgin (fols. 133v–134v); Prayers (fols. 135–136v); Hymn to the Holy Spirit (fols. 137–137v); Penitential Psalms (fols. 138–151v); *David in Prayer* (fol. 138); Litany (fols. 151v–158); Prayers (fols. 158–160v); Hours of the Cross [lacking incipit] (fols. 161–169); Prayer to Christ (fol. 169); Passion Prayers (fols. 170–173v): *The Agony in the Garden* (fol. 169v), *The Betrayal of Christ* (fol. 170v), *The Flagellation* (fol. 172v); Prayer to All Saints (fol. 174); Prayer to the Virgin (fols. 174v–175); The Five Joys of the Virgin (fols. 175–176); Prayer to the Virgin (fol. 176); Salutation to the Virgin (fol. 177): *Celestial Virgin and Child Surrounded by the Lord, Saints, and Seraphim* (fol. 176v); Verses of Saint Bernard [incomplete] (fols. 177–177v); Prayer Commemorating the Mass of Saint Gregory (fols. 178–179); Prayer for Souls in Purgatory and other prayers (fols. 179v–181); *Stabat mater* (fols. 181v–184): *The Deposition* (fol. 181v); Prayers to the Virgin (fols. 184–186); Prayer to Saint Michael (fol. 186v); Prayer to Christ on the Cross (fol. 187); Hours of the Holy Spirit (fols. 187v–193v): *Pentecost* (fol. 187v); Office of the Dead, Use of Rome (fols. 194–243v): *A Burial* (fol. 194); Prayer (fol. 244); Suffrage of Saint Susanna [added in fifteenth-century *bâtarde*] (fols. 244v–245); Psalms [added in a fifteenth-century Gothic hand] (fols. 246–247v).

PROVENANCE: Sir Robert S. Holford, Westonbirt, acquired ca. 1845; by descent to Lt. Col. Sir George L. Holford, Dorchester House, London (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 29, 1929, lot 7, to Quaritch); Cortlandt F. Bishop, New York (sale, Anderson Galleries, New York, July 25–27, 1938, lot 1409, to Ernst Brummer); in 1947 to Mr. and Mrs. Joel Spitz, Glencoe, Illinois; private collection, U.S.

COMMENTARY: The compositions of some of the miniatures are based on miniatures in the *Très Riches Heures* of the duc de Berry (Musée Condé, Chantilly) and the *Belles Heures* of the duc de Berry (The Cloisters, New York).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain Being an Account of the Chief Collections of Paintings, Drawings, Sculptures, Illuminated Mss., &c. &c.*, 3 vols. (London, 1854), vol. 2, pp. 212–14; *Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts*, exh. cat. (Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1908), no. 207; [Robert H. Benson], *The Holford*





45 (fol. 103v)

Collection Illustrated with One Hundred and One Plates Selected from Twelve Illuminated Manuscripts at Dorchester House and One Hundred and Seven Pictures at Westonbirt in Gloucestershire (London, 1924), pp. 9, 38, no. 6, pl. 13; J. Meurgey, *Les Principaux Manuscrits à Peintures du Musée Condé à Chantilly*, Société Française de Reproductions de Manuscrits à Peintures, 14th year (Paris, 1930), p. 72; S. de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, 3 vols. (New York, 1935–40), vol. 2, p. 2325, under "Collection of the Late Cortlandt Field Bishop," no. 63; W. H. Bond and C. U. Faye, *Supplement to the Census of*

Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada (New York, 1962), p. 166, under "The Joel and Maxine Spitz Collection of Illuminated Mss.," no. 2; M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Boucicaut Master* (New York, 1968), p. 147, n. 30; idem, *The De Lévis Hours and the Bedford Workshop* (New Haven, 1972), p. 21, n. 53; idem, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries* (New York, 1974), pp. 88, 239, 362, 391, 456 n. 274, 462 n. 384, 472 n. 689, figs. 391, 634–36; J. Plummer with G. Clark, *The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts, 1420–1530, from American Collections*, exh. cat.



45 (fol. 181v)

(Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1982), p. 2 (under no. 2); C. Nordenfalk, "En gåtfull Birgittabild," *Kungelige Vitterhets, Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Arsbok 1990*, pp. 74–76, fig. 6; L. M. C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, Volume II: France, 1420–1540* (Baltimore and London, 1992), p. 82.



47. Canon tables from a Gospel book (Zeyt'un Gospels)
Illuminated and written by T'oros Roslin (active 1256–68)
Hromklay, 1256
Vellum, 4 bifolia. Leaf: 26.5 x 19 cm (10 $\frac{5}{16}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.). Text area: 18.6 cm x 12 cm (7 $\frac{5}{16}$ in. x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.). Armenian text in Bologir script. Eight illuminated canon table pages.
Ms. 59; 94.MB.71

CONTENTS: The Eusebian canon tables.

PROVENANCE: Catholicos Constantine I (1221–67); bound into a Gospel book in Kahramanmaras, Turkey; Nazareth Atamian; private collection, U.S.

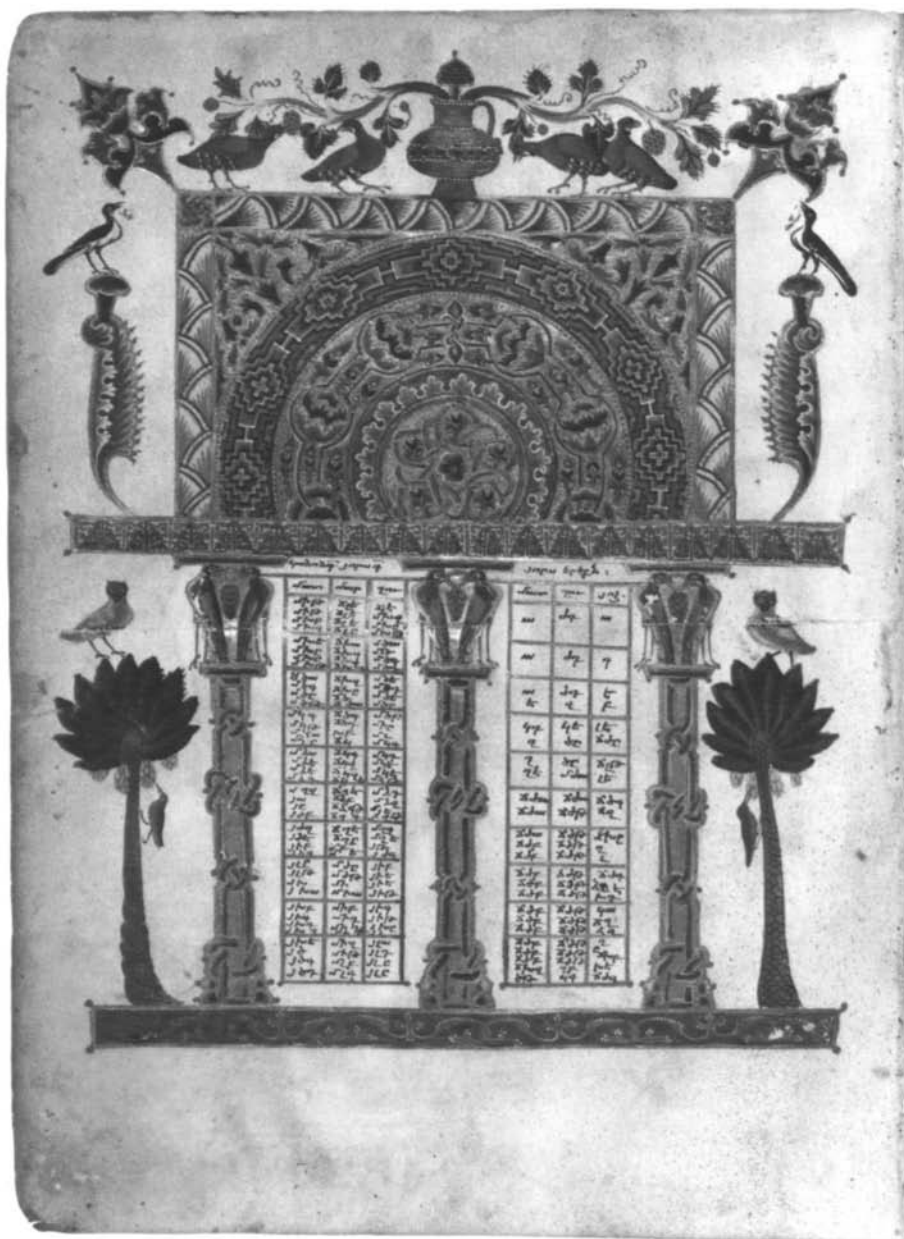
COMMENTARY: The canon tables come from the Zeyt'un Gospels (Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Armenian Manuscripts, Erevan, Ms. 10450 [olim Istanbul, Armenian Patriarchate]). The ornamentation of the canon tables was inspired by the canon tables in a Gospel book of 1253 that was illuminated by T'oros Roslin's teacher Hohannes (Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Ms. 44.17).

46

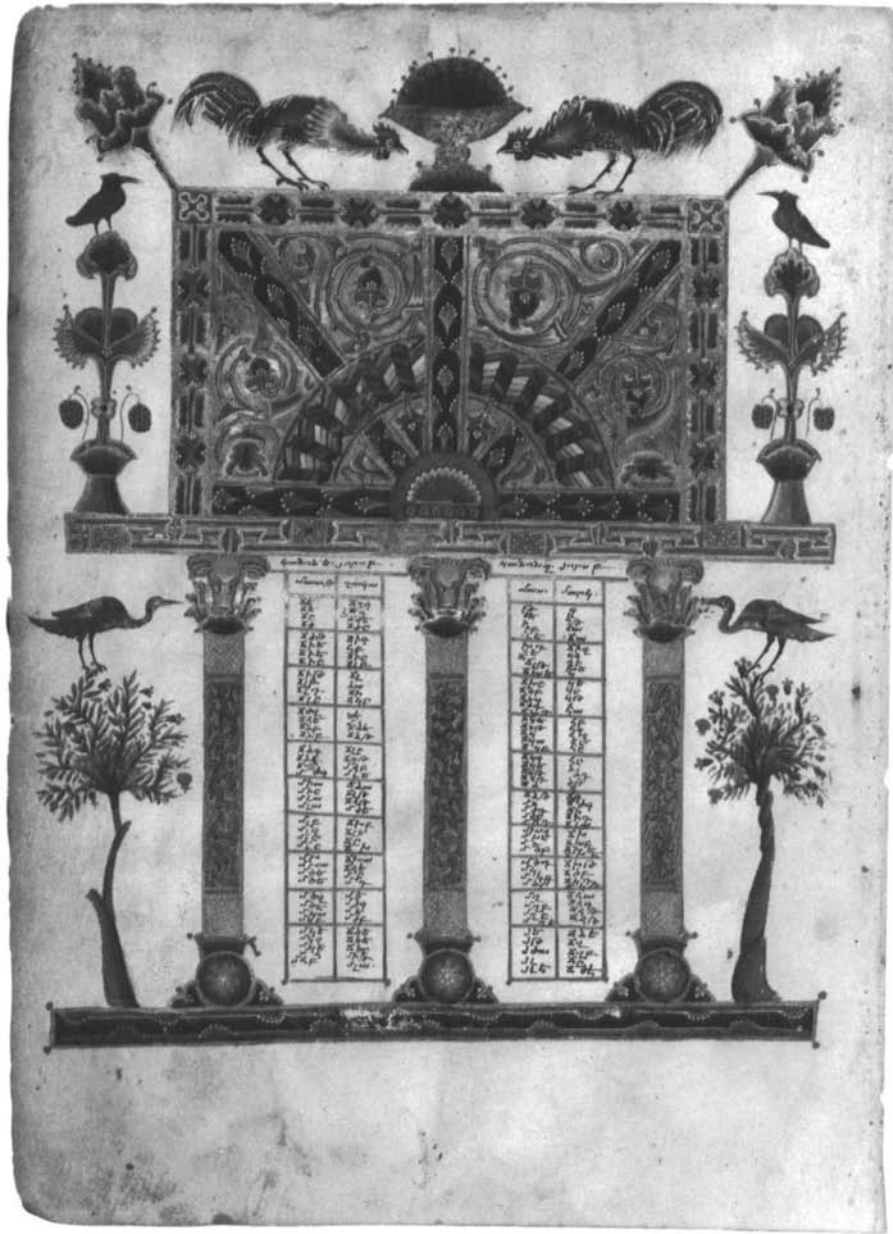
46. Leaf from a book of hours or other type of prayer book:
The Repentance of David before Nathan and David and Bathsheba
Rouen, ca. 1500
Vellum, leaf: 17.6 x 12.8 cm (6 $\frac{9}{16}$ x 5 in.). Text area: 11 x 6.5 cm (4 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.), one column, twenty-four lines. Latin text in *bâtarde*. One full-page miniature, one bas-de-page scene.
Ms. 58; 94.MS.43

CONTENTS: The text on the verso is the opening of Psalm 6, the first of the Penitential Psalms.

PROVENANCE: Gift of Gerlinde Kisters.



47 (fol. 3v)



47 (fol. 5v)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Yovsep'ian, "The Catholicos Constantine I" [in Armenian], in *Materials and Studies on the History, the Art, and the Culture of the Armenians* [in Armenian] (New York, 1943), vol. 2, pp. 26–28, 41–42, figs. 19–26 (reprinted in a collection of the author's articles, 1983); S. Der Nersessian, "T'oros Roslin et l'évangile de Zeytoun," in *Études byzantines et arméniennes* (Louvain, 1973), vol. 1, pp. 559–62 (French translation of an article originally published in Armenian in 1952); H. C. Evans, "Canon Tables as an Indication of Teacher-Pupil Relationships in the Career of T'oros Roslin," in *Medieval Armenian Culture*, ed. T. J. Samuelian and M. E. Stone (Chico, 1984), pp. 272–90; H. C. Evans, "Manuscript Illumination at the

Armenian Patriarchate in Hromkla and the West" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1990), pp. 155, 159 n. 18; S. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 31 (Washington, D.C., 1993), pp. 51–52; T. F. Mathews and R. S. Wieck, eds., *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts*, exh. cat. (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, and Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 1994), no. 82 (catalogue entry by H. C. Evans).

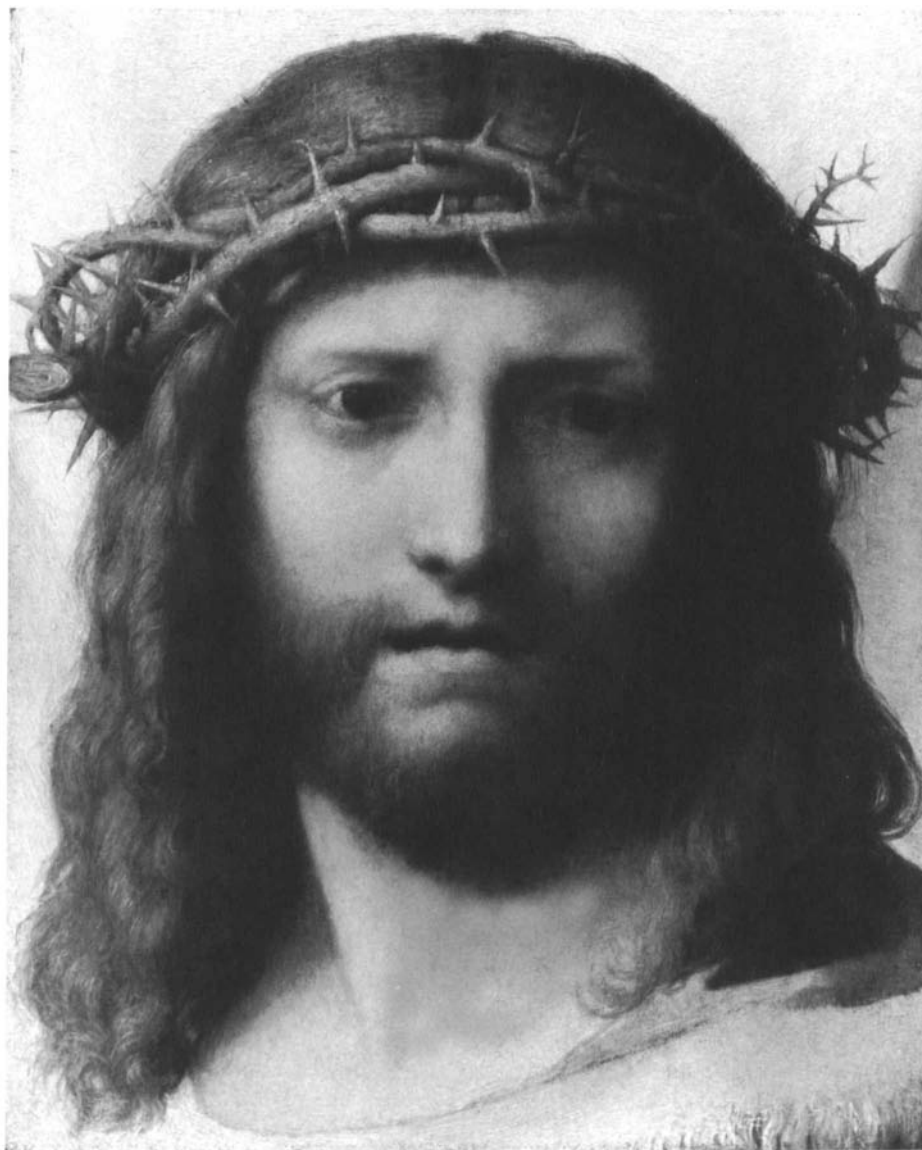
Paintings

48. CORREGGIO
(Antonio Allegri)
Italian, ca. 1489–1534
Head of Christ, ca. 1530
Oil on panel, 28 x 22.8 cm (11 x 9 in.)
94.PB.74

The subject of this devotional painting is perhaps best understood as a reinterpretation of the highest tradition of Renaissance portraiture, the depiction of Christ's face as it was miraculously imprinted on the veil of Saint Veronica. The iconic prototype is recalled by the absolute frontality of Christ's face, his even features, hair, and crown of thorns. But Correggio departs from tradition by showing Christ bust-length, dressed in the red robe of the Passion, and turning toward the viewer. Veronica's veil is the folded, white, cloth background that extends to drape across Christ's shoulder. The veil and its soft white fringes are *trompe l'oeil* illusions meant to blur the distinction between real and fictive space. The painting's profound impact as a devotional image depends on Correggio's bold artistic conceit: he does not show Christ's face imprinted on the veil but instead depicts Christ wrapped within the veil; it is the living face of Christ, not his image, that looks out toward the viewer.

The Head of Christ exemplifies Correggio's well-known ability to invent new types of devotional imagery that capture the protagonists in vibrant realistic moments. An example of his mature style, the painting most closely resembles the *Ecce Homo* (National Gallery, London). Correggio's invention has been adapted by followers in two versions, a near copy in the Academia dei Concordi di Rovigo and a variant in the Turin Gallery. The Bob Jones Collection owns a later copy.

PROVENANCE: Leonor Matignon, bishop of Lisieux, 1663; in the possession of Jacques Goyon de Matignon, comte de Thorigny, until his death in 1725, Paris, Hôtel Matignon, rue de Varennes; Jacques François Leonor de Grimaldi, sire de Matignon and comte de Thorigny, until his death in 1751, Paris, Hôtel Matignon; M. de Sereville (sale, Paris, January 22, 1812, lot 1); Jean Baptiste Pierre Le Brun



48

(sale, Paris, May 23, 1814, lot 21); Prince de Talleyrand, sold 1832 to Peter Leopold (1778–1837) fifth Earl Cowper; sixth Earl Cowper (+1856); hence by descent to Gage family, Firlé Place, Firlé, Lewes, East Sussex.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Royal Academy Winter Exhibition*, exh. cat. (Royal Academy, London, 1881), no. 140; G. F. Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain: Being an Account of More Than Forty Collections of Paintings, Drawings, Sculptures* (London, 1857), p. 345; C. Gould, *The Paintings of Correggio* (Ithaca, New York, 1976), pp. 123, 208; F. Russell, "Rondani's Masterpiece and a Neglected Correggio," *Apollo* 167 (1976),

pp. 13–15 (illustrated); E. Riccomini, "Le Correggio: un visage du Christ," *L'Oeil* (September 1993), pp. 26–29 (illustrated); E. Riccomini, *Un volto di Cristo, un dipinto ritrovato di Antonio Allegri detto Il Correggio*, exh. cat. (Correggio, Palazzo dei Principi, 1994), p. 9 (illustrated); D. Jaffé et al., *The Earl and Countess of Arundel, Renaissance Collectors*, exh. cat. (J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, 1995), pp. 5, 9, 15–20 (illustrated).



49 (.1)



49 (.2)

49. NICHOLAES ELIASZ. PICKENOY
Dutch, ca. 1590–1654/56
Portrait of a Man, 1632
Oil on wood, 121.9 x 85.1 cm
(48 x 33½ in.). Inscribed at upper
right: *Ætatis Suæ 27*/Ano.1632.
94.PB.1

This painting is the companion to Pickenoy's *Portrait of a Young Woman*, one of the first old master paintings purchased by J. Paul Getty. Acquired in 1938, the *Young Woman* later became one of Getty's first gifts to his newly established museum in 1954 (54.PB.3). The pendants were separated at the time of their sale in 1927.

The paintings were almost certainly created to celebrate a marriage, which was one of Pickenoy's specialties. The panels are both dated 1632, the year he painted the monumental *Civic Guard Banquet of Captain Jacob Backer* (Amsterdams Historisch Museum).

The small differences in the dimensions of the panels (the *Young Woman* measures 118.7 x 90.2 cm [46¾ x 35½ in.]) can be attributed to alterations made before their first publication in 1904. The present compact format of the *Portrait of a Man* demonstrates that it has been cut on the sides, including most of the last digit of the man's age. Likewise, the position of the inscription on the *Young Woman* indicates that the panel has been cut at the top.

PROVENANCE: [Dowdeswell Gallery, London, 1904]; E. M. Denny, London (sale, Christie's, London, March 31, 1906, lot 57); [Gooden & Fox, London]; Mrs. Louis Raphael, London (sale, Christie's, London, May 20, 1927, lot 16); [Knoedler, London]; Sir George Leon, Bt., by 1929; by descent to Thomas Parrington, Alderbury, Salisbury, by 1964 (sale, Sotheby's, London, April 20, 1988, lot 46); (sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 14, 1994, lot 23); [Otto Naumann Ltd., New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: "Notes on Various Works of Art," *Burlington Magazine* 5 (June 1904), p. 319, ill. p. 315; A. von Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstlerlexicon* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1906), vol.

1, p. 489; *Dutch Art, 1450–1900*, exh. cat. (Royal Academy, London, 1929), no. 74; *The Balch Collection and Old Masters from Los Angeles Collections Assembled in Memory of Mr. and Mrs. Allan C. Balch* (Los Angeles, 1944), under no. 30; B. Fredericksen, *Catalogue of Paintings in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1972), under no. 98; E. Benezit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs, et graveurs* (Paris, 1976), nouv. éd., vol. 4, p. 141.

50. GIAMBATTISTA TIEPOLO

Italian, 1696–1770

The Miracle of the Holy House of Loreto,

ca. 1744

Oil on canvas, 123 x 77 cm (48 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 30 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

94.PA.20

This sketch depicts the legend of the miraculous flight of the Virgin Mary's Holy House, or *Santa Casa*, which was first recorded in the late fifteenth century. According to the tale, which had particular currency in eighteenth-century Venice, the house where Mary had been born and where the Annunciation had taken place was transported in 1291 by angels from Nazareth in the Holy Land to Loreto, a small town on Italy's Adriatic coast, when it came under threat of desecration by invading Saracen armies.

The Getty sketch is probably the second and final sketch for Tiepolo's frescoed ceiling in the Church of the Scalzi, or Discalced Carmelites, in Venice, known as Santa Maria di Nazareth, designed by Baldassare Longhena in the mid-seventeenth century. Working with Girolamo Mengozzi-Colonna, who painted the illusionistic architectural surrounds, Tiepolo completed the commission between 1743 and 1745. The ceiling, Tiepolo's grandest in his native city, was destroyed by bombing in World War I and is today known only by black-and-white photographs.

An oval oil sketch in the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, represents an earlier idea for the composition. Drawings possibly related to the genesis of the *Holy House* composition are discussed by George Knox in an article that appeared in *Burlington Magazine* in July 1968. Particularly close are two pen-and-ink studies for the Virgin and Child group in the collection of The Art Museum, Princeton University (figs. 40 and 41 in Knox).

PROVENANCE: By tradition considered to have come from the collection of Cecilia Guardi, wife of Giambattista Tiepolo; Edward Cheyney, 4 Audley Square, London, and Badger Hall, Shropshire (sale, London, April 29, 1885, lot 160); bought by the fifth Earl of Rosebery; by descent to Eva, Countess of Rosebery (sale, London, December 11, 1974, lot 15); bought by British Rail Pension Fund; [Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox].



50

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Knox, "G. B. Tiepolo and the Ceiling of the Scalzi," *Burlington Magazine* 110 (July 1968), p. 397; W. Barcham, "Giambattista Tiepolo's Ceiling for S. Maria di Nazareth in Venice: Legend, Traditions, and Devotions," *Art Bulletin* 61 (September 1979), pp. 433,

438–39; M. Levey, *Giambattista Tiepolo: His Life and Art* (New Haven and London, 1986), pp. 112–14; B. L. Brown, *Giambattista Tiepolo: Master of the Oil Sketch*, exh. cat. (Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, 1994), pp. 33, 228–31, no. 29, ill.

51. MAURICE-QUENTIN DE LA TOUR

French, 1704–1788

Gabriel Bernard de Rieux, ca. 1739–41

Pastel and gouache on paper mounted on canvas, 200 x 150 cm (78¾ x 59 in.)

94.PC.39

Gabriel Bernard de Rieux (1687–1745) was the second son of Samuel Bernard, the immensely successful financier and knowledgeable amateur. Samuel purchased for Gabriel the title *comte de Rieux* in 1702, along with an estate in Languedoc. Gabriel Bernard de Rieux became *conseiller* to the Paris Parlement at the age of twenty-five. Ten years later, in 1727, he was named *président* of the second *chambre des enquêtes* of the Parlement, a post he would hold until his death.

Samuel Bernard's considerable banking fortune was divided between his two sons at his death in 1739. This inheritance may have provided Gabriel the means and impetus to commission this portrait from La Tour. Its scale was unprecedented in the pastel medium and was presumably intended to showcase the ability of pastel to compete with oil. The only comparable work of the period is La Tour's slightly smaller *Portrait of the Marquise de Pompadour* in the Louvre, Paris. A year after exhibiting the Getty portrait, the artist executed a half-length pastel of Rieux's second wife, Suzanne-Marie-Henriette de Boulainvilliers (Musée Cognacq-Jay, Paris).

PROVENANCE: In the sitter's possession, in his hôtel in the rue Notre Dames-des-Victoires until his death in 1745; his son, Anne-Gabriel-Henri Bernard de Rieux, who removed it to the château de Glisolles (Eure) where it remained until his descendant, the duc de Clermont Tonnerre, sold it to Wildenstein and Co., Paris, in 1918; bought in 1931 from Wildenstein and Co. by Baron Maurice de Rothschild; Baron Edmond de Rothschild, château de Pregny, Geneva, Switzerland.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Wildenstein, *Un Pastel de La Tour: Le Président de Rieux* (Paris, 1919); A. Besnard and G. Wildenstein, *La Tour: La vie et l'oeuvre de l'artiste* (Paris, 1928), pp. 24–25, 34, 163 (figs. 35, 37, 40).



Photographs

SELECTED ACQUISITIONS



52

52. JEREMIAH GURNEY
American, 1812–1886
Portrait of Edward Carrington, Jr., 1842
Sixth-plate daguerreotype, 7.4 x 5.9
cm (2⁹/₁₆ x 2³/₈ in.). Inscribed: sitter's
name in ink on green silk case pad.
94.XI.55

Beginning in the early 1840s, Jeremiah Gurney was one of America's most prominent daguerreotype artists who produced finely crafted portraits of celebrities as well as ordinary citizens. His work was considered unexcelled by the photographic journals of the time, and his studios were well-equipped with stylish salons, state-of-the-art cameras, and highly trained operators and colorists. He used the best cameras and successfully experimented with lighting techniques that resulted in sharp, clear images. Furthermore, many of the backdrops he used in making portraits were of luscious landscapes or elegant sitting rooms decorated with the finest furnishings.

The background in this portrait of a young boy is in the style of the Hudson River School, a group of nineteenth-century American landscape painters who painted primarily in the region of the Catskill Mountains and the Hudson River

Valley of New York. The picturesque beauty of the backdrop adds to the visual richness of the portrait.

This portrait is a fine companion piece to another daguerreotype portrait by Gurney of this sitter in the Museum's collection. The second portrait includes the same backdrop and contains a prop vase clearly marked with Gurney's name. It is unusual to be able to link up objects so closely related, since many of them have been dispersed over the years to various collections.

PROVENANCE: William Becker, Huntington Woods, Michigan; [unidentified vendor]; [Dennis A. Waters, Exeter, New Hampshire].

53. GEORGE WILSON BRIDGES
British, active 1846–1852
The Hebrew Cemetery-Tomb of Absalom, Jerusalem, ca. 1850
Salt print, 16.2 x 20.6 cm (6³/₈ x 8¹/₈ in.). Titled: verso print in ink at center *The Hebrew Cemetery-Tomb of Absalom-Illegible*. *Jerusalem*.
94.XM.65

The Reverend George Wilson Bridges is a little-known British photographer who made nearly seventeen hundred calotype negatives between 1846 and 1852, during

his travels in the Mediterranean, Egypt, and the Holy Land. Bridges's calotype views in the Holy Land are the earliest photographs taken there by a British photographer.

After being instructed in the art of the calotype by William Henry Fox Talbot (1800–1877), Bridges departed for Malta where he joined the Reverend Calvert Jones (1804–1877), a photographer who further encouraged his explorations with the medium. Both photographers frequently sought Talbot's advice and adhered to the chemicals and techniques he recommended, and the majority of their negatives were printed at Talbot's Reading Establishment.

This photograph was made from nearly the same viewpoint as a study by Félix Teynard (1817–1892) in the Getty Museum's collection; however, the negative has been reversed. Together the photographs demonstrate the latitude photographers working with paper negatives had by comparison to their counterparts working in the daguerreotype process.

PROVENANCE: Sotheby's, London, April 14, 1989, lot 130; [Hans P. Kraus, Jr., New York, 1994].



53



54

54. ERNEST BENECKE
 German, active 1850s
Vue de Gebel Mousir & II Cataract du Nil au nord—Nubie [72.], March 6, 1852
 Salt print, 16.3 x 21.7 cm (6 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 8 $\frac{7}{32}$ in.). Inscribed: recto print III in the negative; recto mount titled and dated in pencil at lower right; series title printed on mount.
 94.XM.66.1

Ernest Benecke was an amateur artist who eagerly exploited the graphic qualities of the calotype process. A member of a family of wealthy German merchant bankers, Benecke had the necessary private income to devote himself to the costly pursuit of photography.

Between January and August 1852, in a singular variant of the Grand Tour, Benecke traveled throughout the Middle East and concluded his tour in Athens and Florence. He worked alone, without official support or public attention. In an eight-month period Benecke created a body of work approaching one hundred and fifty negatives, most of which he meticulously signed, titled, and dated. These views of the Holy Land are among the finest taken by any photographer in the 1850s. In his compositions Benecke often selected unusual details, angles of view, and framing. His view of the second cataract of the Nile (94.XM.66.10), however, is taken from a near identical viewpoint as one of the Félix Teynard prints in the Museum's collection. They differ because on the outcrop of the rock at the left of the composition Benecke has included a figure to provide a sense of scale for the dramatic view that he has arranged in the camera's ground glass.

Although Benecke's photographs are extremely rare, the Museum was able to acquire five of his prints in 1994.

PROVENANCE: Private collection; Werner Bokelberg, Germany, 1992; [Hans P. Kraus, Jr., 1994].

55. ROGER FENTON
 British, 1819–1869
Three Heads of Minerva, 1856
 Salt prints, approximately 36.5 x 29 cm (14 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 11 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.).
 94.XM.56.1–3



55 (.1)



55 (.2)

When Roger Fenton was hired by the British Museum to document its collections in 1854, he was probably the first photographer to be employed by any museum. In the course of the next five years, when he was not engaged in other projects such as photographing the Crimean War, he made images for the Museum of manuscripts, drawings, and sculpture. Of these, sculpture posed a considerably greater challenge. Because of the limitations of the photographic materials of his day, Fenton had to have the classical busts moved outdoors in order to expose his negatives, and on occasion he resorted to dusting them with white powder to produce better highlights. Three sequential studies of the same head were acquired by the Museum this year. Each is made from a different angle, and together they show how Fenton systematically studied to best present this head.

PROVENANCE: A county library in Wiltshire; [Ken Jacobson, Great Bardfield, Essex, England].



55 (.3)



56

56. WILLIAM LAKE PRICE
British, 1810-1896
Augustus Leopold Egg, ca. 1857
Albumen print, 28.6 x 24.4 cm.
(11¼ x 9¾ in.). Recto mount printed
facsimile signature of the sitter,
printed credit line *Photographed from
Life by Lake Price, London Published by
Lloyd Brothers & Co. 96, Gracechurch
Street*; recto mount in pencil in one
unknown hand a 52,000, and in
another *Gustave [sic] Leopold*; verso
mount in pencil in an unknown hand
Augustus Leopold Egg/ Engl. Histor. Ptr.
94.XM.38.1

Lake Price's photograph of the English painter Augustus Leopold Egg (1816-1863) was made as part of a series of twelve portraits of Royal Academicians, two of which were acquired by the Museum this year. That this portrait shows a subject with a somewhat cadaverous face is not surprising; the painter's ill health frequently led him to live in the south of France, and he died at the age of forty-seven. Egg was originally a painter of genre scenes, drawn from history or literature; but under the influence of the pre-Raphaelites, whose work he encouraged, he gradually turned to scenes of contemporary life.

Lake Price himself had originally been a painter, but he took up photography in the early 1850s. His principal subject material was also genre scenes, drawn from literature, such as that of Cervantes, and earlier paintings, such as those of Franz Hals.

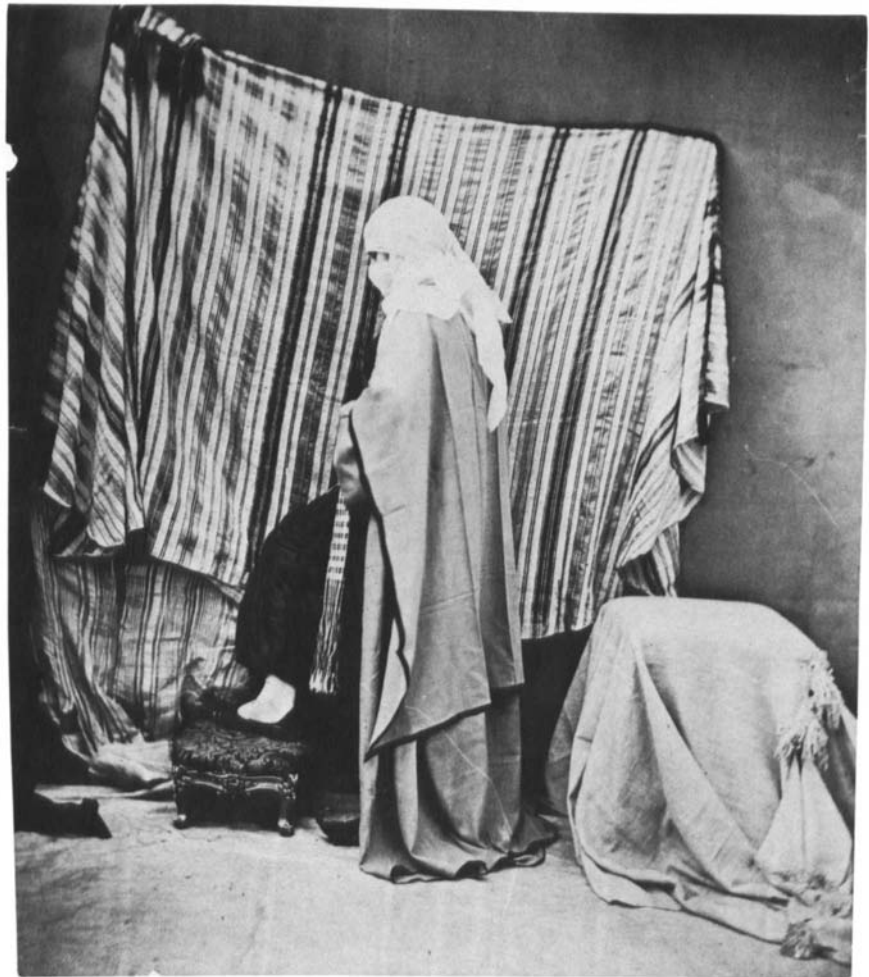
PROVENANCE: Private collection, London; [Donald Heald, New York]; [Russ Anderson, Aptos].

57. ROGER FENTON
Orientalist Study, 1858
Albumen print from a wet collodion
on glass negative, 25.8 x 22.8 cm
(10½ x 8¾ in.)
94.XM.8

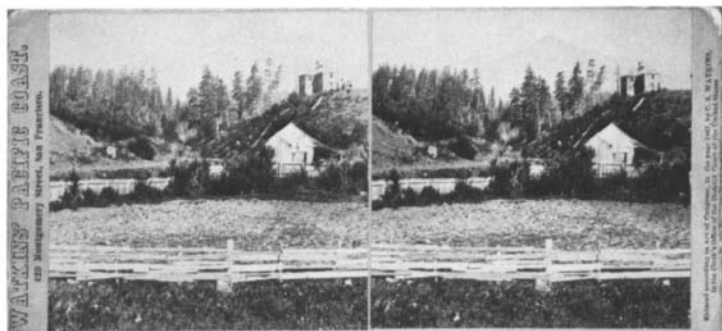
During the course of Fenton's expedition to photograph the Crimean War in 1855, he acquired a number of Near-Eastern articles of clothing and objects that he subsequently used in his London studio to create a series of Orientalist studies. Most of the figures in these pictures were friends, although one woman appears to have been a professional model. This photograph deals with a subject familiar to art school teachers and students—how textiles flow, fold, and drape, as evident in the wall hanging behind the model and in the

veil and robe she wears. The Western-style footstool is an anomalous touch in a photograph of a supposedly Near-Eastern type, but it permits the viewer to see the shape of the model's shoe and trouser leg, which would have been exotic by Victorian standards.

PROVENANCE: From the artist to the collection of his friend, the artist Carl Haag (1820-1915); (sale, Sotheby's, London, June 1982, to an unknown purchaser); (Christie's, London, October 1993, to Cinema Consultants, New York).



57



58

CARLETON E. WATKINS

Carleton E. Watkins is considered to be the most important and accomplished American landscape photographer of the second half of the nineteenth century. He is renowned for his views of Yosemite, which have been described as "the first body of American photographs to systematically present the landscape as a wilderness before the arrival of man. They are not the first landscape photographs, but they are the first to present nature from a deliberately assumed artistic posture."

This year the Museum acquired seven stereographs, three boudoir cards, and one mammoth plate to augment the more than fourteen hundred images by Watkins in the existing collection, which is one of the finest of his work to be found anywhere.

58. CARLETON E. WATKINS
American, 1829–1916
Lookout Mountain, Cascades, Columbia River, 1867
Two albumen prints mounted on imprinted card stock, each 7.5 x 7.8 cm (2¹⁵/₁₆ x 3¹/₁₆ in.). Imprinted: title, date, maker's name and address on recto and verso of mount.
94.XC.73.2

Watkins often photographed the architecture and topography of San Francisco, where he lived and operated a studio and gallery in which visitors could see a permanent display of views made throughout the state and the West. He made several trips to the Columbia River and created some of his most compelling photographs there. Watkins worked in many formats.



59

Typically, he would make a mammoth plate negative of a scene and then a stereographic view from the same position or angle.

PROVENANCE: Yann Maillet, Islamorada, Florida.

59. CARLETON E. WATKINS
Avenue of Orange Trees. Sunny Slope. San Gabriel. Los Angeles Co. Cal., ca. 1880
Albumen print mounted on card stock, 11.1 x 17.8 cm (4³/₈ x 7 in.). Titled in ink on recto mount below image.
94.XM.30.1

This grove of orange trees was situated along a sizable avenue on a large San Gabriel ranch called Sunny Slope, then owned and operated by Leonard J. Rose. This area later became the community of Rosemead, California. Watkins made many similar images of orange groves during his stay in Southern California in the 1880s.

PROVENANCE: Unidentified San Francisco vendor; [Barry Singer, Petaluma, California].

60. CARLETON E. WATKINS
Golden Gate from Black Point, San Francisco, ca. 1870
Albumen print, 20.3 x 29.8 cm (8 x 11³/₄ in.)
94.XM.16



60

This view was taken from inside San Francisco Bay looking toward the Golden Gate (the strait leading from the Pacific Ocean into the Bay) and Marin County. In the foreground is a battery of guns installed across the water from Fort Point. The fort itself can be seen in the distance at the center, at the southern end of where the Golden Gate Bridge is now located. Both the fort and the battery were built in 1853 to guard the city from sea attack. Two soldiers stand guard on the battery seawall, which encloses a stockpile of cannonballs.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Boston, Massachusetts; [Fraenkel Gallery, San Francisco, California].

61. JULIA MARGARET CAMERON
British, 1815–1879
Julia Duckworth, April 1867
Albumen print from a wet collodion on glass negative, 34.3 x 26.1 cm (13½ x 10¼ in.). Signed and inscribed: in ink *From Life Registered Photograph, Copyright* on the mount below the photograph; Colnaghi blindstamp, now partially cropped, on the mount.
94.XM.12

The photograph is a portrait of Julia Jackson (then Mrs. Herbert Duckworth, later to be Mrs. Leslie Stephen), who was a favorite niece of Cameron's, and the mother of Virginia Woolf and Vanessa Bell. She was the model for the sympathetic character of Mrs. Ramsay in the first section of Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*. Her appearance, thought to be angelic by her contemporaries, was in contrast with her sometimes caustic tongue. The lighting that Cameron applied to her in this romanticizing soft-focus portrait is similar to that used by the photographer later in the same year for her heroicizing head of Thomas Carlyle. This is the strongest of several other profile portraits that she made of the same sitter, three of which are already represented in the Museum's collection.

PROVENANCE: From the artist to her daughter Julia Cameron Norman, by descent in the Norman family; [Eric Sommer, London]; [Sean Thackrey, San Francisco]; Joseph Monsen, Seattle; [Charles Isaacs, Philadelphia].



61



62

62. JULIA MARGARET CAMERON
Our Twin Stars (Charlotte and Adeline Norman), ca. 1874
Albumen print from a wet collodion on glass negative, 27.5 cm diameter (10¾ in.). Signed and inscribed: recto mount in ink *From Life Registered Photograph, Copyright*; verso mount in pencil in an unknown hand *I think these are Daisy (Mrs. Selwyn Pryor) & Adeline (Mrs. Christy Aitken)*; Colnaghi blindstamp recto mount.
94.XM.31.2

Julia Margaret Cameron's portraits of eminent Victorian artists, scientists, and writers, their feminine models and muses, and allegorical subjects drawn from Christian

mythology and the writings of her friends, particularly Alfred Lord Tennyson, made her famous and are well-represented in the Museum's existing collection. She also made slightly less formal and much less well-known studies of her immediate family, seven of which were acquired by the Department of Photographs this year. In this study of two of her granddaughters she has employed a format and pose similar to those she used earlier to depict Christian cherubs, and indicates a similar seriousness of purpose, which is reinforced by the fact that she took the trouble to copyright the image (indicating that she thought the photograph would be of interest outside her family circle).

PROVENANCE: From the artist to her daughter Julia Cameron Norman and other members of the Norman family, by descent in the Norman family; [Charles Isaacs, Philadelphia]; Cinema Consultants, New York.



63

63. PETER HENRY EMERSON
British, 1856–1936
A Stiff Pull, ca. 1886
Albumen print, 22.9 x 29.3 cm (9 x 11½ in.). Inscribed: recto mount imprinted title and *Silver Medal. Class 3 No. 143* and *P.H. Emerson. B.A.: M.B.*; verso mount imprinted *Class III/ COUNTRY HOUSE. / For the best and second best Out-door Group, Studies of Animals, Sporting Scenes, / Tennis, or other Parties/ MEDALS - GOLD, SILVER*

AND BRONZE; verso mount inscribed in pencil in an unknown hand 1886/ *Con.[way] Stereo [scopic] Co./ Am [ateur] Phot. [ographic] Exhib. [ition]/ From the original negative/ not the manipulated plate/ used f the phtgravure [sic] in P . . . [illegible]. 94.XM.57*

In Emerson's championship of what he called "naturalistic" photography he inveighed against photographs that had been heavily manipulated or printed from several negatives. When he came to publish this image as a gravure in *Portraits of East Anglian Life* in 1888, of which the Museum owns a copy, however, he removed the group of trees on the right horizon and added a stormy sky in order to give the central figures more force. Most of Emerson's photographic work was concerned with English rural life in the marshy areas of Norfolk and Suffolk, where he found both what he deemed an appropriate relation of man to nature and a firm hierarchy of social classes.

PROVENANCE: From an album of prints exhibited by prize-winning amateurs; [Ken Jacobson, Great Bardfield, Essex, England].

64. GUIDO REY
Italian, 1861–1935
Dutch Interior, ca. 1895
Platinum print, 22 x 15.5 cm (8¾ x 6¼ in.). Inscribed: recto in pencil *GRE010/GRA010/92:146.*
94.XM.9.3

Guido Rey, the most noteworthy of the Italian artist-photographers in the international Pictorialist movement, is especially renowned for his delicate platinum prints of elaborately staged interiors. Born in Turin, Rey was an upper-class businessman who was active as a photographer from 1885 to 1920. His earliest Pictorialist photographs, taken about 1892, depict Japanese-style interiors that he meticulously arranged. A few years later he photographed a series of re-creations of seventeenth-century Dutch interiors, inspired by the works of Jan Vermeer and Pieter de Hooch, as well as a series of tranquil Roman scenes derived from the paintings of Sir Lawrence Alma Tadema. To re-create these scenes accurately, Rey hired a seamstress to make the costumes according to very specific instructions. For the most part, he was able to make use of the rooms and everyday objects—furniture, prints, vases, and so forth—from his own



64

household or those of his friends (who, along with his relatives, served as his models). In this image the quality of light, the pose of the seated man, and the woman's engaging glance over her shoulder are all direct references to elements found in Vermeer's paintings, such as *A Girl with a Glass of Wine* and *Two Gentlemen of 1663* (Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Brunswick).

PROVENANCE: Family of the artist, by descent; Professor Guliana Scimé; [G. Ray Hawkins, Los Angeles].



66. ANNE BRIGMAN
American, 1869–1950
The Heart of the Storm, 1914
Platinum print, 24.6 x 19.7 cm
(9¹¹/₁₆ x 7⁷/₄ in.). Signed and dated:
recto mount in pencil; titled: artist's
address verso mount, Camera
Club exhibition labels.
Gift of Jane and Michael Wilson.
94.XM.III

Anne Brigman was born in Hawaii and moved to California at the age of sixteen. She trained as a painter but turned to photography around 1902. A charter member of Stieglitz's Photo-Secession group, she eventually became a Fellow, the only photographer from the West to do so. Brigman is best known for her romantic photographs of nudes taken in

65

65. ARNOLD GENTHE
American (born Germany),
1869–1942
San Francisco, April 18, 1906,
printed 1920s
Gelatin silver print, 19.4 x 33.3 cm
(7¹¹/₁₆ x 13¹/₈ in.). Signed, titled, dated,
and inscribed: *N.Y.* recto mount
in pencil.
94.XM.4

A scholar trained in philology, Genthe came to the United States in 1895 to tutor the son of a German nobleman. Fascinated by the street life of San Francisco, particularly that of Chinatown, he taught himself photography and began to take candid scenes with a small camera. Soon after he decided to become a professional photographer and opened a portrait studio that quickly attracted a large and distinguished clientele. Genthe's studio and most of his negatives were destroyed in the aftermath of the San Francisco earthquake of 1906, but he wasted no time. He borrowed a camera and some film and photographed the city during the disaster, an experience he describes vividly in his autobiography of 1936, entitled *As I Remember*. The artist is represented in the Getty Museum's collection by fifty-two photographs, including his work in San Francisco as well as that from his later career in New York.

PROVENANCE: [Paul M. Hertzmann, San Francisco] auction(?).



66

the California landscape. Friends and relatives served as her models in remote locations in the Sierra Nevada. This print was given to the Getty Museum in honor of its exhibition, *The Heart of the Storm: Northern California Pictorialism* of 1994, organized by guest curator Michael Wilson, to whom we are grateful for this timely addition to the collection.

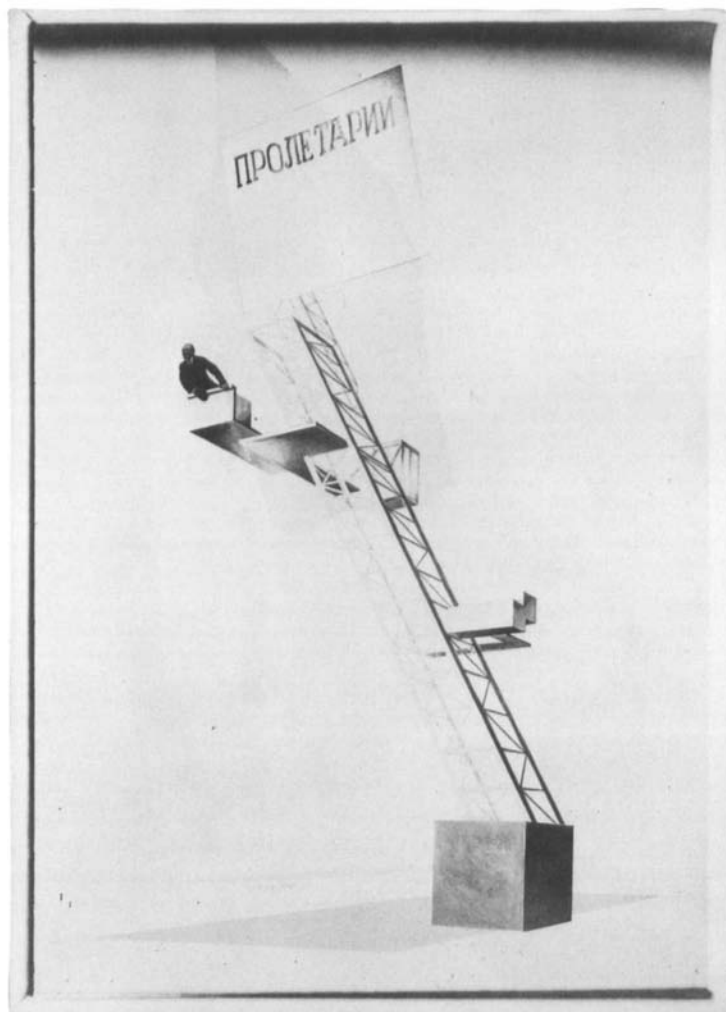
PROVENANCE: Stephen White Gallery; Jane and Michael Wilson.

67. ALFRED STIEGLITZ
American, 1864–1946
Georgia O'Keeffe and Her Sister Ida,
Lake George, ca. 1923
Gelatin silver print, 11 x 8.9 cm
(4 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
94.XM.25

The painter Georgia O'Keeffe is pictured here with her sister Ida, who was two years her junior. The portrait was made during a visit to the Stieglitz family vacation home in Lake George, New York, possibly during the autumn of 1923. Ida, a nurse in New York, was the closest to O'Keeffe of her four sisters, although the two were quite different in temperament. Stieglitz, who married O'Keeffe in 1924, has captured the two women in a seemingly casual moment outdoors. On closer inspection, however, one finds that the picture is carefully constructed, uniting the sisters with their dark cloaks yet contrasting them psychologically.



67



68

This rare double portrait augments the Getty Museum's substantial holdings of some 190 Stieglitz prints, including approximately sixty photographs of O'Keeffe.

PROVENANCE: Swann Galleries, New York; [Pace/MacGill Gallery, New York].

68. EL LISSITZKY
Russian, 1890–1941
Lenin Tribune (Proun No. 85), 1924
Gelatin silver print, 17.2 x 12.1 cm
(6 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)
94.XM.60.2

Trained as an architect in Germany, Lissitzky was invited by the painter Marc Chagall to teach applied arts at a school in Vitebsk in 1919. As a Communist and a Modernist, Lissitzky rejected easel painting for the more utilitarian and

egalitarian arts, and turned accordingly to photography, which could be used to share visual ideas in multiple prints and through reproductions.

Simultaneously a document and a means of creative expression, depicted in the photograph is his collage *Proun No. 85* (now in the collection of the State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow), which was made public via this print at the International Theatrical Exhibition in Vienna in 1924. The collage shows Lissitzky's plan for a podium structure, and pictures Lenin addressing an audience. The photograph is part of a group of three works acquired from the artist's family and joins one other work by Lissitzky from the collection of Samuel Wagstaff, Jr., acquired by the Getty Museum in 1984.

PROVENANCE: Jen Lissitzky; Sophie Lissitzky-Küppers; [Houk Friedman Gallery, New York].



69

69. LÁSZLÓ MOHOLY-NAGY
American (born Hungary),
1895–1946
Rinnstein (Gutter), 1925
Gelatin silver print, toned, 37 x
27.4 cm (14½ x 10¾ in.). Inscribed:
verso in pencil *Sewer*; printer's marks;
photographer's wet stamp.
94.XM.28

Moholy-Nagy was a prolific, versatile artist and theoretician whose work has been influential to others in numerous media. He is widely known as a Constructivist painter, but he also sculpted, made

films, worked in graphic design, and created a significant body of photographic work. Characteristic of Moholy-Nagy's camera-made images in its skewed perspective, this photograph transforms the mundane subject of a street drain into a vital composition. Taken during a visit to Paris in the summer of 1925, it reveals Moholy's interest in chiaroscuro, as well as in texture and in form.

PROVENANCE: Private collection; [Susan Ehrens, Emeryville, California].

70. DARIUS KINSEY
American, 1869–1945
[Cut Timber Scene with Four Loggers],
1927
Gelatin silver print, 49.8 x 70.2 cm
(19½ x 27½ in.). Inscribed: recto in
negative lower right 19(c)27 BY
DARIUS KINSEY/ FOR TIMBER
VIEWS CO.
94.XM.5.3

Born in Missouri, Kinsey moved to Washington in 1889 at the age of twenty. He became an itinerant photographer and concentrated with religious devotion on recording local logging scenes, working six days per week for a period of about fifty years. To document scenes such as this one, he lived with the logging crews for a week or more at a time, photographing them posed in various stages of their work. After making the negatives in the field, Kinsey dispatched them back to his Seattle studio where his wife, Tabitha, developed and printed them, and mailed the finished products back to him for distribution at the camps. This negative was made with an 11 x 14 inch view camera, standard field equipment for Kinsey in the 1920s, and was then enlarged to make this 20 x 27 inch print, which was possibly intended for one of the international expositions that he occasionally entered. An extraordinarily industrious photographer, he created about sixty- to eighty-thousand negatives, and stopped taking pictures around 1940 when, at the age of seventy-one, he was injured by a fall from a large tree stump while taking a photograph.

PROVENANCE: Unknown private collection;
[Andrew Smith Gallery].



70

WALKER EVANS

The Getty Museum's collection of prints by Walker Evans, who was a pivotal figure in American photography of the 1930s, is the largest in a public institution, numbering nearly twelve hundred items. It was begun in 1984 with the acquisition of four private collections—that of Arnold Crane (Chicago), Samuel Wagstaff, Jr. (New York), Volker Kahmen and Georg Heusch (Todenfeld, West Germany), and Daniel Wolf (New York)—each of which contained selections of Evans's prints. In the decade since then the Department of Photographs has added to this unique holding of vintage prints in a highly selective manner, acquiring only rare pictures that enhance the Museum's holdings of a particular series or period from Evans's work.

In the past year the Museum acquired eleven photographs by Evans from circa 1930 to 1946. These pieces come from seven different sources, and in some cases are the only known prints from the negatives. They have been chosen to complement the collection's representation of New York street pictures, the Victorian House project, 35 mm portraits from the Resettlement Administration assignments, 1940s *Fortune* stories, and, one of the photographer's favorite subjects, the graphic art of Hollywood posters.



71

71. WALKER EVANS
American, 1903–1975
Fruit Cart, ca. 1930s
Gelatin silver print, 16.5 x 22.8 cm
(6½ x 9 in.). Inscribed: verso print
Lunn Gallery stamp numbered III and
487 in pencil.
94.XM.61.2



72

This photograph may date from around 1930, when Evans spent much of his time photographing the street life and architecture of New York. However, it is also closely related to his photographs of Cuban street vendors from 1933 and the photographs from his last Farm Security Administration assignment in New York City in 1938. It clearly shows the influence of Eugène Atget and his eloquent Paris street scenes, as well as Evans's lifelong fascination with all types of signage. He also was probably attracted by the subtle geometries of the scene: the crates, the empty basket, and the wheels of the cart.

PROVENANCE: [Harry Lunn, Jr., Washington];
Edward Downe, New York; [Howard Greenberg
Gallery, New York].

72. WALKER EVANS
Blonde Girl, ca. 1935
Gelatin silver print, 19.3 x 18 cm
(7½ x 7¼ in.). Inscribed: verso print
at center Lunn Gallery stamp in
black ink.
94.XM.62

It is likely that Evans made this striking portrait of a young girl during a trip to Pennsylvania or West Virginia for the Resettlement Administration in 1935. He was most comfortable with the anonymous, candid portrait, in which he attempted to photograph his subject unaware and present them in a truthful and stylistically “honest” way. In this particular study he has captured the pensive, melancholic expression of a young girl, whose right hand grips a wire fence that cuts a sharp diagonal across the foreground of the composition. Here Evans has cropped the composition to a square, which intensifies the expression and enhances the drama.

PROVENANCE: [Harry Lunn, Jr., Chicago];
[Timothy Baum, New York].

73. WALKER EVANS

Independence Day, West Virginia, 1935
Gelatin silver print, 17.8 x 22.9 cm
(7 x 9 in.). Inscribed: verso print
Lunn Gallery stamp with III and
23V in boxes.
94.XM.63

Evans made this photograph at a Fourth of July picnic in Terra Alta, West Virginia, while traveling for the United States government. In his quest to document life in small-town America during the Depression, Evans was drawn to scenes of community celebration. Absorbed in their own observations of the festivities, these two women were photographed by Evans, apparently without their knowledge; one has been caught as she somewhat awkwardly adjusts her novelty party hat. In another print from the series, made no more than one second later, Evans was discovered and confronted by his subject.

PROVENANCE: [Harry Lunn, Jr., Chicago];
[Robert Mann, New York, 1991]; [Stephen
Daiter Photography & Books, Chicago].



73

74. WALKER EVANS

Sharecropper Family (probably
Alabama), ca. 1936
Gelatin silver print, 14.6 x 20.7 cm
(5¾ x 8¼ in.). Inscribed: verso print
Lunn Gallery stamp numbered III and
562 in pencil and FF-580-5.
94.XM.61.1

This is a striking example of Evans's efforts to document and communicate the effects of the Depression on individuals and families. He may have made this informal portrait from a moving car or train. The three subjects appear relaxed and unposed, but are aware that they are being photographed; the woman and the young boy to the right are acknowledging the photographer with a wave. The photograph was probably made during Evans's *Fortune* assignment of 1936, which he carried out with the writer, James Agee. It joins a group of sixty photographs made in Alabama by Evans.

PROVENANCE: [Harry Lunn, Jr., Chicago];
Edward Gans, New York; [Howard Greenberg
Gallery, New York].



74



75

75. GERMAINE SCHNEIDER
French, active 1930s
Telephone Pole, ca. 1935
Gelatin silver print, 9.1 x 6.4 cm
(3 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
Gift of Jack Banning.
94.XM.44

This print augments a group of thirteen photographs by the artist acquired by the Getty Museum in 1993. The photographer, Germaine Schneider, is an enigma. Approximately two hundred of her prints were discovered in Paris in 1992, including a picture of a woman at an easel, which may be a self-portrait. If it is, Schneider may have been an artist in a variety of media who was, perhaps, self-taught. The scale of her prints is intimate and suggests the flexibility of the handheld cameras that became popular in the 1930s. The Museum is grateful to Jack Banning for this addition to the collection.

PROVENANCE: Jack Banning, Ubu Gallery, New York.



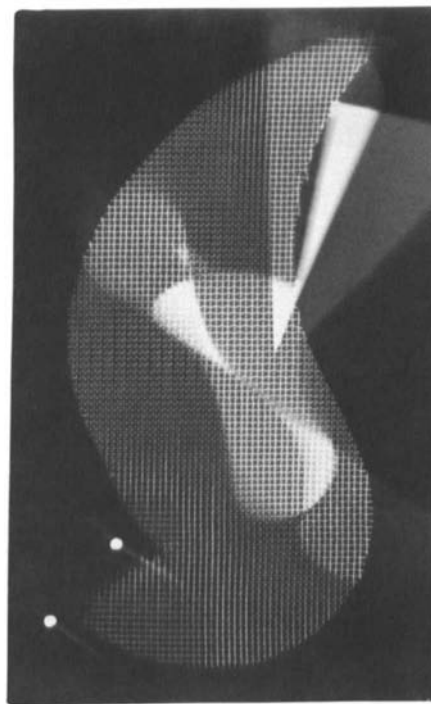
76

76. CLAUDE CAHUN
French, 1894-1954
Jacqueline Lamba, 1935-39
Gelatin silver print, 16 x 11.9 cm
(6 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)
94.XM.68

Claude Cahun was the assumed name of Lucy Schwob, born into a prominent Jewish literary family in Nantes, France. She was a writer, actress, photographer, and political activist in Paris in the 1930s. After meeting André Breton in late 1932 she became a member of the Surrealist circle and joined Georges Bataille's radical group Contre-Attaque in 1935. Breton's passion for the painter Jacqueline Lamba—who appears in this portrait and became his wife in 1934—inspired his famous prose novel *L'Amour fou*, published in 1937.

Cahun's photographs of the late 1920s and 1930s include costumed self-portraits, still lifes of small objects and assemblages, and photomontages. In her self-portraits and montages she explores questions of gender and identity using her own distinctive face in various masks and guises.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Britain; [Zabriskie Gallery, New York].



77

77. THEODORE ROSZAK
American (born Poland), 1907-1981
Untitled Photogram, 1937-41
Gelatin silver print, 12.8 x 20.3 cm
(5 x 8 in.). Inscribed: verso print in pencil APG 13801D.68.
94.XM.67.1

Born in Poland, Roszak moved with his family to Chicago in 1909, where he attended the School of the Art Institute of Chicago; he later studied at the National Academy of Design in New York. He is known primarily as a painter and sculptor, but between 1937 and 1941 he made more than one hundred photograms. Early in his career Roszak was influenced by Bauhaus theories and the Constructivist principles he read about in László Moholy-Nagy's book, *The New Vision*. Roszak applied these ideas in his sleek, machine-inspired sculpture and in his experimental photography from 1937 to 1941. Photograms such as this one were made by arranging objects on light-sensitive paper and exposing them to a light source. In these works he explores geometry, light, and the element of chance, just as he does in his three-dimensional constructions. This photogram is directly related to the artist's sculpture *Torso Manique (Surveyor)* (1931-32), one of his many geometric interpretations of the human figure. The

print is from a group of five acquired from the artist's estate, an addition to the five photograms purchased from the Zabriskie Gallery in 1994.

PROVENANCE: Estate of Theodore Roszak; [Hirschl & Adler Galleries, New York].



78

78. HELEN LEVITT

American, born 1913

"Kiss Me Mother," New York, 1938

Gelatin silver print, 18.1 x 12.4 cm (7 1/8 x 4 7/8 in.). Signed, titled, and dated: verso print in pencil by the artist.

94.XM.17

Helen Levitt, born in Bensonhurst (an Italian-Jewish neighborhood in Brooklyn, New York), has been making photographs for more than fifty years, almost exclusively looking to the streets of her native city as the source of her art.

Levitt's vision was greatly developed through her friendship with Walker Evans, whom she accompanied on photographic expeditions and shared a darkroom with for one year in 1938–39. This study of 1938 reveals the candid, documentary style of Levitt's earliest photographs and presents a window on the idiosyncratic life of children from the streets of New York in the 1930s. The literal and metaphorical meaning of the inscribed message is open to question, but Levitt celebrates the imagi-

native faculties of the child and the child's willingness to share with others a conception borne of thought, fantasy, and dream.

This rare vintage print is the first work by the artist to be acquired for the Getty Museum's collection.

PROVENANCE: Collection of the artist; [Fraenkel Gallery, San Francisco, 1994].

FREDERICK SOMMER

In 1994 the Museum was fortunate to acquire 107 photographs by Frederick Sommer, one of America's most venerated and influential artist-photographers. Sommer has been producing photographs of extraordinary vision for over five decades. A philosophical and artistic radical with an authentically Surrealist sensibility, Sommer

is responsible for having expanded the conventional definitions of photography.

Born in Italy in 1905, Sommer was raised in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, where he was instructed in the arts of drawing and design from an early age by his father. In 1925 he came to the United States and studied for a master's degree in landscape architecture at Cornell University, where he met his future wife, Frances. After returning to Europe for a few years, Sommer came back to the United States and moved permanently to Prescott, Arizona, in February 1935, where he still resides.



79

In 1936 Sommer met Edward Weston in Los Angeles, an event that encouraged him to take photography more seriously. Until that point Sommer had been using smaller cameras, but inspired by the sensuous tonalities and visual clarity of Weston's prints, he bought a large-format 8 x 10 inch view camera. This change provided the impetus for the creation of Sommer's first photographic masterworks, primarily horizonless desert landscapes (94.XM.37.78) and poetic still lifes of dead animals (94.XM.37.94). He also began a series of carefully composed photographs of chicken heads and entrails (94.XM.37.96) that he had collected from his local butcher. In such works a highly structured composition is combined with spellbinding detail, creating a striking visual reality, proving that death can yield art. In the 1950s Sommer started creating cameraless negatives of abstract compositions that were painted on glass. He also experimented with various cameraless processes such as *clichés-verre*, paint on cellophane (94.XM.37.51), and smoke on foil. These incorporate chance operations in the Dadaist spirit, but they have also been described by some commentators as related to the work of the Abstract Expressionists of this era.

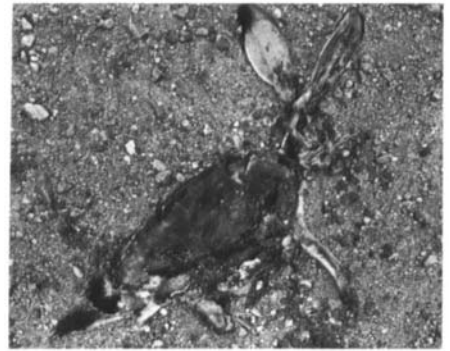
Working in a singular style, informed by the contradictory sources of Dada and Surrealism and West Coast naturalism, Sommer's approach is encapsulated in his statement: "If you can really understand why you take a photograph, you don't do it. You do it for the margin of the unstated . . . you hope to be able to come back to it—and find a wider statement."

Throughout his career in photography, Sommer has strictly adhered to the standard set by Alfred Stieglitz, Paul Strand, Charles Sheeler, and Edward Weston: each photographic print should be an object of supreme craftsmanship. His meticulous approach has resulted in a body of photographs realized over sixty years that is very small, even by comparison to Stieglitz. Works in the group acquired by the Museum date from 1939 to 1985 and include portrait, still-life, abstract, landscape, and composite photographs. Among them are a number of Sommer's most celebrated images, as well as several that are believed to be the only prints ever made from the negatives.

79. FREDERICK SOMMER
American (born Italy), 1905
The Anatomy of a Chicken, 1939
Gelatin silver print, 24.2 x 19 cm
(9½ x 7½ in.) Signed, titled, and dated: in pencil verso mount at upper left *The Anatomy of a Chicken* 1939; at center *Frederick Sommer* 1939; at lower right 99.
94.XM.37.96

In 1939 Sommer began a series of photographs that explore the biological structure and the aesthetic potential of dead animal parts. These prints are at once visceral and decorative, presenting the shocking yet beautiful aspects of animal parts and organs, which have been arranged by the artist in photographic compositions. The juxtaposition of a head with the eyes gouged out to the entrails exposed is stark and confrontational, as is the shock of the idea and the immediacy of the arrangement.

PROVENANCE: Collection of the artist, Prescott.



80

80. FREDERICK SOMMER
Jack Rabbit, 1939
Gelatin silver print, 18.8 x 23.8 cm
(7½ x 9½ in.) Signed, titled, and dated: verso mount at upper left *Jack Rabbit*, 1939; at center *Frederick Sommer* 1939; at lower right in unknown hand 97.
94.XM.37.94

During his wanderings in the desert near his home in Prescott, Sommer found animal remains and transformed them into enduring photographs that embody the poetry of decay. Sommer faces the ravages and death of physical matter with a cool stare. Taking a close-up vantage point, Sommer presents the decomposing form



of a jack rabbit, disintegrating into the earth. Its extremities—ears, tail, and feet—are still recognizable forms, and are an eerie reminder of the transitory nature of mortality.

PROVENANCE: Collection of the artist, Prescott.

81. FREDERICK SOMMER

Arizona Landscape, 1943

Gelatin silver print,

19.2 x 24.3 cm (7 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.).

Signed, titled, and dated: in pencil verso mount at upper left *Arizona Landscape*, 1943; at center *Frederick Sommer*, 1943; at lower right 80.

94.XM.37.78

Sommer's desert scenes fit uncomfortably within accepted conventions of landscape photography. Although packed with abundant descriptive power, they present an environment that appears antihuman and inaccessible. The vastness and totality of the scene allows the eye no resting place, yet the organization of the view belies the particularity of its individual elements—the cactus, mesquite, and areas of ground cover, which show no trace of man having ever passed over this seemingly pristine land.

PROVENANCE: Collection of the artist, Prescott.

82. FREDERICK SOMMER

Coyotes, 1945

Gelatin silver print, 19.2 x 24.1 cm (7 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.). Signed, titled, and

dated: in pencil verso mount at upper left *Coyotes*, 1945; at center *Frederick Sommer* 1945; and at lower right in an unknown hand 106.

94.XM.37.103

Coming across a pack of coyotes killed by bounty hunters in the Arizona desert, Sommer found a subject that he arranged into a photographic composition of extraordinary power and emotion. The structural complexity of the scene creates a tension between the severe immediacy of the decaying carcasses and the organization of the picture. The emotive power of the photograph rests in the bizarre combination of textures—desiccated skin, rotting molars, and tufts of fur—which are the remnants of a pack of animals unified in death and disintegration.

PROVENANCE: Collection of the artist, Prescott.



83



82

83. FREDERICK SOMMER

Virgin and Child with Saint Anne and the Infant Saint John, 1966

Gelatin silver print, 24 x 17.7 cm (9 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.). Signed, titled, and

dated: in pencil verso print at upper

left *Virgin and Child with St. Anne and the Infant St. John*, 1966; at center *Frederick Sommer* 1966; at lower right in unknown hand 39.

94.XM.37.39

Sommer made an art of collecting refuse that he would select carefully and then study for years, sometimes even decades, before finding a place for it in his art. This peculiarly formed lump of metal was once the melted remains of a burned-out, wrecked automobile. By carefully joining it with a Victorian book illustration, Sommer invites us to recall Leonardo's painting. If the literal definition of the word *imagination* is "one thing seen in the form of another," this a perfect example of the photographer's imaginative process.

PROVENANCE: Collection of the artist, Prescott.

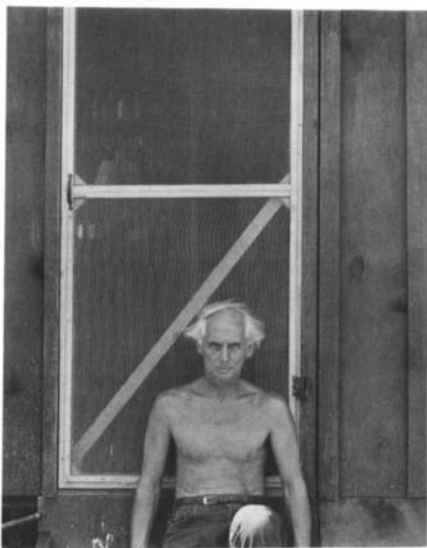
84. FREDERICK SOMMER

Max Ernst in Sedona, 1946

Gelatin silver print, 24.2 x 19 cm (9½ x 7½ in.). Signed, titled, and dated: in pencil verso mount at upper left *Max Ernst in Sedona, 1946*; at center *Frederick Sommer 1946*; at lower right 2. 94.XM.37.2

Sommer met the Surrealist collage artist Max Ernst in Los Angeles in 1941, when Ernst first saw Sommer's photographs of still lifes of chicken entrails. Ernst and Man Ray, who was also present, are reported to have responded enthusiastically to the work and began a good humored argument about its merits. This was the beginning of a long friendship between Sommer and Ernst. This portrait of the intensely expressive Ernst was made in Sedona, Arizona, in 1946, the same year he settled in a village about an hour away from Sommer's home in Prescott.

PROVENANCE: Collection of the artist, Prescott.



84



85

85. FREDERICK SOMMER

Mexican Bather, 1952

Gelatin silver print, 24.4 x 19.2 cm (9½ x 7½ in.). Signed, titled, and dated: in pencil verso mount at upper left *Mexican Bather, 1952*; at center *Frederick Sommer 1952*; at lower right in unknown hand 34.

94.XM.37.34

Sommer encountered the folk painting pictured here during a trip to Mexico in 1952. More than a document of the mural itself, it is a representation of the decaying textures of its environment that appear to have had a personal impact on this forlorn bather. Delicately and precariously balanced, he rests his hand uncomfortably on the brick wall. He immerses his legs into cement water and they corrode, his flesh pierced by the bullet-hole-shaped blemishes scattered over the surface of the wall.

PROVENANCE: Collection of the artist, Prescott.



86

86. FREDERICK SOMMER

Livia, 1948

Gelatin silver print, 19.2 x 23.5 cm (7½ x 9¼ in.). Signed, titled, and dated: in pencil verso mount at upper left *Livia, 1948*; at center *Frederick Sommer 1948*; at lower right 2.

94.XM.37.3

The subject of this vivid portrait was the daughter of one of Sommer's neighbors in Prescott. The focal point of the composition is the transfixed, accusatory gaze of the child's waiflike eyes. She is placed emblematically dead center, cut off just below the waist, her hands crossed, simulating the appearance of a body lying in a funerary display. Her juxtaposition against a weathered, disintegrating wall accentuates the clarity and vivacity of youth, and demonstrates Sommer's enduring interest in the aesthetic possibilities of miscellaneous surfaces and their textures.

PROVENANCE: Collection of the artist, Prescott.



87

87. FREDERICK SOMMER

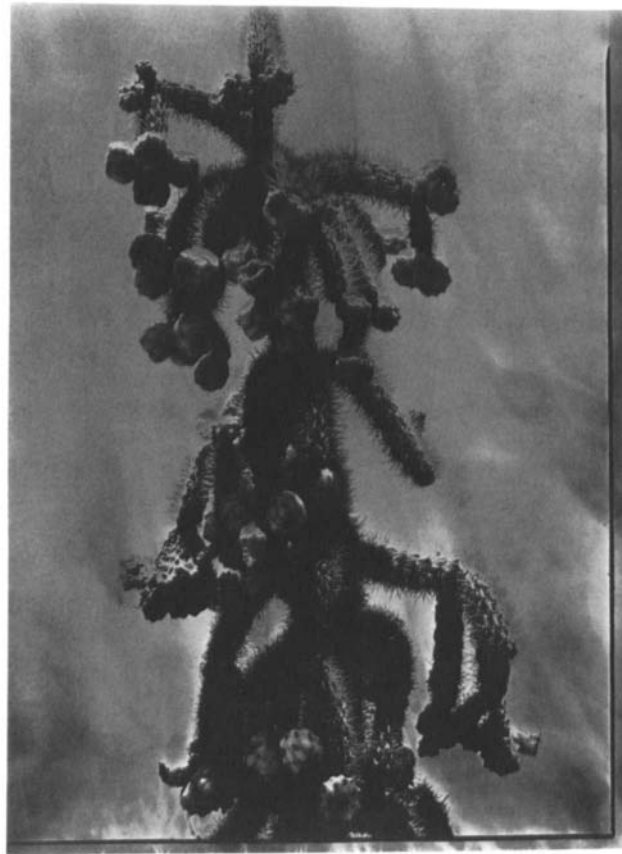
Paracelsus, 1957

Gelatin silver print, 34.2 x 25.6 cm (13½ x 10⅞ in.). Signed, titled, and dated: in pencil verso mount at upper left *Paracelsus*, 1957; at center *Frederick Sommer* 1957; at lower right in unknown hand 52.

94.XM.37.51

The title of this photograph refers to Paracelsus (1493–1451), the visionary German physician who taught that the life of man is inseparable from that of the universe and that physicians must minister to the spirit as well as the body, thinking with which Sommer himself closely identified. In order to create this photograph, an abstraction that uncannily resembles a human torso, Sommer squeezed paint between two layers of transparent cellophane, put the results—a sandwich of sorts—into an enlarger, projected it on enlarging paper, and developed it as if it were an in-camera negative. This technique combines an inspired, poetic imagination with virtuosic darkroom practices.

PROVENANCE: Collection of the artist, Prescott.



88

88. EDMUND TESKE

American, born 1911

Cactus, Taliesin West, Scottsdale, Arizona, 1943

Gelatin silver duotone solarized print of the 1960s, 33.7 x 24.8 cm (13¼ x 9¾ in.). Signed: in pencil verso print at lower center *E. Teske*.

94.XM.29.2

Edmund Teske, a native of Chicago, has been one of the foremost artist-photographers working in Los Angeles since the 1940s. In his work Teske marries a virtuoso dexterity in photographic techniques and manipulation with an intuitive gift for image combination. This approach results in pictures of heightened technical and emotional sensitivity, charged with a mystical, poetic mood.

Teske learned photography as a schoolboy and took a position as an assistant in the commercial studio of A. George Miller in Chicago in 1934. About the same time he was introduced to the work of several pioneers of Modernism, including Alfred Stieglitz, Paul Strand, Edward Weston, and Man Ray.

In 1936 Teske began a two-year fellowship with Frank Lloyd Wright at Taliesin East in Spring Green, Wisconsin. In what was the first photo-workshop to be conducted at Taliesin, Teske photographed the architecture and grounds and absorbed the teachings of the charismatic architect.

In 1943 Teske traveled west from Chicago to Los Angeles. En route he stopped at Wright's winter headquarters, Taliesin West, in Scottsdale, Arizona. In the desert surrounding the complex he made this striking study of a cactus. Twenty years later he returned to the negative and printed this image in his unique, self-styled technique of duotone solarization.

This is one of a group of three prints by the artist that was acquired in 1994; they complement twelve acquired in 1993.

PROVENANCE: Collection of the artist; [Turner/Krull Gallery, Los Angeles, 1994].

89. HARRY CALLAHAN

American, born 1912

Eleanor, 1947

Gelatin silver print, 23.1 x 16.6 cm

(9 1/8 x 6 1/2 in.). Signed, dated, and inscribed: verso mount in ink #2.

94.XM.69.2

This print is the central image in a unique triptych of Callahan's wife, Eleanor, whom he married in 1936 and photographed frequently. This powerful group of prints serves as both a manifesto of Callahan's purist, formalist tendencies and as an intimate, tender portrait of his wife of more than ten years. Printed with a wider tonal range and much larger in size than the more common miniature 4 x 5 inch format, this work shows that Callahan was interested in serially related compositions early in his career.

A self-taught photographer, Callahan began to take pictures in 1938. He was invited by László Moholy-Nagy to join the faculty of the Institute of Design in Chicago in 1946, where he influenced a generation of postwar photographers, a tradition he continued at the Rhode Island School of Design until his retirement from teaching in 1971. Callahan is represented by thirty-one additional works in the Getty collection.

PROVENANCE: Private collection; [Zabriskie Gallery, New York].



89



90

90. WEEGEE

(Arthur Fellig)

American (born Poland), 1899–1968

Village Party, ca. 1950s

Gelatin silver print, 23 x 19.7 cm

(9 1/8 x 7 3/4 in.). Two photographer's wet stamps on the verso.

94.XM.14.1.

This self-taught photographer quit school at fourteen to help support his family. Hiring a pony he nicknamed "Hypo," Weegee became a street photographer, making portraits of children on the pony. After working as a news photographer for the next ten years, Weegee set up a radio connection to the main Manhattan Police Headquarters in order to be able to arrive quickly at locations of crime and other occurrences. He thus became known as the first "ambulance chaser" in photography by arriving at newsworthy scenes ahead of his competitors.

Weegee worked strictly in black and white, producing stark graphic images, the best known of which capture incidents of violence or catastrophe. To record humorous aspects of life he often used multiple printing techniques.

In his photograph *Village Party* Weegee captures an aspect of the Bohemian scene in the Greenwich Village of the 1950s in New York City. A couple in the fore-

ground appears to be dancing or frolicking about: the young man, dressed as a wild man, bites the nape of the neck of his female companion whose frayed brassiere is seen to be held together by a safety pin. Others in the crowd seem to be caught up in the frenzy of the party atmosphere, gazing about with gleeful faces. In his autobiography, *Weegee by Weegee*, where this image is reproduced, the photographer speaks of his fondness for working in the "Land of the Zombies," named by him presumably because of the condition of its sometimes stupified inhabitants. This print, along with five others purchased at the same time, complement the Getty Museum's existing collection of more than seventy-five photographs by Weegee.

PROVENANCE: Wilma Wilcox, New York; [Aurel Scheibler, Cologne, Germany].

91. DANNY LYON

American, born 1942

Gallup, New Mexico, 11:37 A.M.

(for Lewis Hine), 1970

Gelatin silver print with borders decorated in colored ink, 22.7 x 31.3 cm (8½ x 12¼ in.). Signed and titled: recto print in ink by the artist; verso print, artist's wet stamp; *Bleak Beauty* and *Picture Date and Print Date*, both of which have been noted in pencil as 1970.

94.XM.24

By his dedication of this photograph to Lewis Hine (American, 1874–1940), Lyon squarely places this work in a tradition of photographic self-portraits in which the photographer's shadow or reflection is present. The Hine example to which Lyon refers, of which there is a print in the collection, is a portrait of a newsboy at a street corner in which the foreground is occupied by the shadow of Hine with his hand stretched out toward his camera in the act of making the exposure. Another related picture in the collection is a self-portrait of the French photographer Eugène Atget (1856–1927) catching his reflection in a store window. Lyon's is perhaps the most subtle of all as it is only his silhouette that is present, dividing what can be seen inside the cafe from what is reflected from outside, behind the photographer's back, in and across the street.

PROVENANCE: The artist; [Jan Kesner Gallery, Los Angeles].

92. RALPH STEINER

American, 1899–1986

Heaven's Key, 1977

Gelatin silver print, 18.9 x 24.5 cm (7½ x 9¾ in.). Inscribed: verso print in pencil in an unknown hand *I and Ralph Steiner 1979–1984*.

94.XM.40.2

In 1963 Ralph Steiner left New York to live both in rural Vermont and on an island off the coast of Maine. From that time his work focused on the natural world rather than urban scenes. Beginning in 1970 he photographed clouds. He felt that they had infinite variety and were individually expressive. Of this particular study, he wrote that, "It was the afternoon of the day a wonderful painter and wonderful friend died. . . . It seemed the right sky



91



92

for him." He left the cloud images untitled with the intention that viewers assign their own titles. This one, *Heaven's Key*, was suggested by someone who attended an exhibition of these works at the Smith College Museum of Art in 1984.

PROVENANCE: From the artist to a friend, the photographer, Marian Post Wolcott; [Linda Wolcott-Moore, San Francisco].



Carleton E. Watkins
American, 1829–1916
Coastline Near Carmel, ca. 1865–85
Albumen print,
20.5 x 31.2 cm (8 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)
Gift of Weston Naef in memory of Leona Naef
Merrill and in honor of her sister Gladys Porterfield.
94.XA.113.36

GIFTS

Nineteen ninety-four was an exceptionally bountiful year for donations to the Getty Museum's collection of photographs. In addition to those mentioned in the preceding section of the journal, we are grateful to the following donors whose gifts will greatly enhance the Museum's existing holdings.

The Department of Photographs was fortunate to have received a number of important donations this year from Curator of Photographs Weston Naef. A gathering of works by the photographer Carleton E. Watkins (American, 1829–1916), representing subjects outside of Yosemite Valley, complement the Museum's existing holding of Watkins's photographs. Included in the group are seventy-three albumen

prints collected in an album entitled *California Tourists Association, San Francisco*, circa 1865–85 (94.XA.112; see illustration), and ten mammoth plate landscapes and architectural studies, which date between 1858 and 1880 (94.XM.109). In addition he donated a possibly unique wet-collodion camera. It will be used for didactic purposes in future exhibitions of mammoth-plate photographs.

John Torrealano, a painter and professor at New York University, donated to the Museum a cibachrome print by Sandy Skoglund (American, born 1946), entitled *Revenge of the Goldfish*, 1981 (94.XM.110). This image is considered to have been Skoglund's first major work and expands the Museum's collection of photographs by painter/photographers into the contemporary realm.



Frederick Sommer, whose work was the subject of an exhibition at the Museum in 1994, and whose work is discussed in some detail above, made two important donations. The first is a group of thirty-four unique objects that are closely related to many of the 107 photographs by Sommer in the Museum's collection. Sommer carefully collected these objects over many years and arranged them into compositions that he photographed, which represent the philosophical and physical core of his work. Two arrangements of these objects were displayed in the above mentioned show of Sommer's work.

In 1994 Sommer also donated to the Museum eleven albumen prints by Eugène Atget (French, 1857–1927), an excellent complement to the Museum's current holding of about three hundred photographs by Atget. Sommer acquired this group of Atget's work (94.XM.108) from Berenice Abbott for his personal collection because of the special appeal of one print in particular: *Epicerie Fruiterie*, from around 1912. Another of the donated prints, *Femme*, circa 1925–26, is the first from Atget's exceedingly rare series of nude studies to enter the collection (see illustration).

Eugène Atget
French, 1857–1927
Femme, ca. 1925–26
Gelatin silver print,
17.1 x 22.5 cm (6¾ x 8¾ in.)
Gift of Frederick Sommer.
94.XM.108.10

Note: listed below are the individual photographers whose works were acquired during 1994 by gift or purchase. Each photographer's name is followed by his or her nationality, life dates (or years flourished), and the number of photographs.

AMERICAN SCHOOL, UNKNOWN MAKER
(Nineteenth Century), 27 ambrotypes,
3 tintypes

ATGET, EUGÈNE
(French, 1857–1927), 11 photographs
Gift of Fredrick Sommer

BENECKE, ERNEST
(German, active 1850s), 5 photographs

BRAUN, ADOLPHE
(French, 1811–1877), 3 photographs

BRIDGES, REVEREND GEORGE WILSON
(British, active 1846–1852),
1 photograph

BRIGMAN, ANNE
(American, 1869–1950), 1 photograph
Gift of Joane and Michael Wilson

BRITISH SCHOOL, UNKNOWN MAKER
(Nineteenth Century), 1 photograph

CAHUN, CLAUDE
(French, 1894–1954), 1 photograph

CALLAHAN, HARRY
(American, born 1912), 3 photographs

CAMERON, JULIA MARGARET
(British, 1815–1879), 7 photographs

EMERSON, PETER HENRY
(British, 1856–1936), 1 photograph

EVANS, WALKER
(American, 1903–1975),
11 photographs

FENTON, ROGER
(British, 1819–1869), 5 photographs

FRENCH SCHOOL, UNKNOWN MAKER
(Nineteenth Century), 4 photographs

GENTHE, ARNOLD
(American, born Germany,
1869–1942), 1 photograph

GURNEY, JEREMIAH
(American, 1812–1886),
1 daguerreotype

KINSEY, DARIUS
(American, 1869–1945), 5 photographs

LEVITT, HELEN
(American, born 1913), 1 photograph

LISSITZKY, EL
(Russian, 1890–1941), 3 photographs

LYON, DANNY
(American, born 1942), 1 photograph

MOHOLY-NAGY, LÁSZLÓ
(American, born Hungary, 1895–1946),
1 photograph

PRICE, WILLIAM LAKE
(British, 1810–1896), 2 photographs

REY, GUIDO
(Italian, 1861–1935), 5 photographs

RODCHENKO, ALEXANDER
(Russian 1891–1956), 1 portfolio of
modern prints

ROSZAK, THEODORE
(American, born Poland, 1907–1981),
10 photographs

SCHNEIDER, GERMAINE
(French, active 1930s), 1 photograph
Gift of Jack Banning

SKOGLUND, SANDY
(American, born 1946), 1 photograph

SOMMER, FREDERICK
(American, born Italy, 1905),
117 photographs

STEINER, RALPH
(American, 1899–1986),
2 photographs

STIEGLITZ, ALFRED
(American, 1864–1946), 3 photographs

TESKE, EDMUND
(American, born 1911), 3 photographs

ULMANN, DORIS (ATTRIBUTED)
(American, 1882–1934), 1 photograph

WATKINS, CARLETON E.
(American, 1829–1916), 18 photo-
graphs, 1 album of 73 prints,
3 boudoir cards, 7 stereographs
Gift of Weston Naef

WEEGEE (ARTHUR FELLIG)
(American, born Poland, 1899–1968),
6 photographs

Sculpture and Works of Art

93. MICHEL ANGUIER
 French, 1612–1686
Jupiter, cast second half of the
 seventeenth century from a
 model of 1652
 Bronze, H: 61.4 cm (24 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)
 94.SB.21

Michel Anguier was one of the earliest proponents of a classicizing Baroque style in French sculpture of the seventeenth century. According to his biographers, in 1652 Anguier modeled a series of seven figures representing the deities Jupiter, Juno, Neptune, Amphitrite, Pluto, Mars, and Ceres. In the past bronze casts based on Anguier's models have been recognized for all the gods except Jupiter and Juno, which were considered lost. This bronze is a discovery of some importance as it is considered the only known cast of Anguier's *Jupiter*. As is characteristic of the sculptor's heroic male types, the *Jupiter* exhibits well-defined musculature, clumps of wavy hair, protruding veins in the arms and feet, and a prominent aquiline nose. Anguier's style is marked by his deep understanding and incorporation of antique models. In pose, facial type, and drapery this bronze resembles an ancient statue and head of Jupiter, both formerly in the Giustiniani Palace, Rome.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, France;
 [Same Art Inc., Zurich].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Guillet de Saint-Georges,
 "Michel Anguier," in L. Dussieux, ed., *Mémoires
 inédits* (Paris, 1854), vol. 1, p. 438; Comte de
 Caylus, "Michel Anguier," in *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 455;
 H. Stein, *Les Frères Anguier* (Paris, 1889), p. 19.





94

94. ATTRIBUTED TO EDMÉ BOUCHARDON
French, 1698–1762
Saint Bartholomew, ca. 1734–50
Terra-cotta, H: 57 cm (22½ in.);
W: 21 cm (8¼ in.); D: 18 cm (7 in.)
94.SC.23

This terra-cotta may be a preliminary but rejected model for Bouchardon's stone *Saint Bartholomew* in the church of Saint-Sulpice, Paris. In 1734 Bouchardon received a commission for twenty-four life-size statues to decorate the church, and although the sculptor had only completed ten figures by the time the project was suspended in 1751, it was the most important monumental, sculptural cycle created for a Parisian church in the first half of the eighteenth century. In pose, drapery, and handling of anatomy and facial features, this terra-cotta exhibits marked similarities to two of Bouchardon's Saint-Sulpice apostles, *Saint Andrew* and *Saint Peter*. Like these other figures, *Saint Bartholomew* is contained in a narrow composition arching to one side to conform to its envisioned

placement in front of a pillar, oriented toward the viewer's approach. Flayed alive before being martyred, *Saint Bartholomew* is portrayed with his skin—including hands, feet, and genitals—draped over the tree stump beside him.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, France;
[Same Art Inc., Zurich].

95. ALBERT ERNEST CARRIER-BELLEUSE
French, 1824–1887
Model for a Monument to Alexandre Dumas père, ca. 1883
Terra-cotta, H: 79.5 cm (31¼ in.);
W: 28 cm (11 in.); D: 25 cm (10 in.)
Inscribed: on base *A. CARRIER BELLEUSE*; on square pillar: *TROIS MOUSQUETAIRES. / VINGT Ans APRÈS. / LES QUARANTE CINQ. / LA COMTESSE de CHARNY. / Ange PITOU/LA REINE MARGOT./Comte de Monte CRISTO. / ACTÉ. / Etc. Etc. Etc.*
94.SC.19

The spontaneous modeling of the house-coat (*robe de chambre*), which preserves the imprints of the sculptor's fingertips, and the animated tooling of the head and hair indicate that this terra-cotta was made as a preliminary sketch model, or *ébauche*, for Carrier-Belleuse's bronze monument erected in 1884 in Villers-Cotterêts. The famous novelist Alexandre Dumas père (1802–1870), best known today for writing *The Three Musketeers* and *The Count of Monte Cristo*, was a close friend of the sculptor. In this portrait the seeming nonchalance of Dumas's pose and his informal, disheveled attire offset the intensity of his facial expression and the dramatic turn of his head. Another terra-cotta model by Carrier-Belleuse for the same monument is in the Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Paris; [Patrice Bellanger, Paris].



95

96. JOSEPH CHINARD

French, 1756–1813

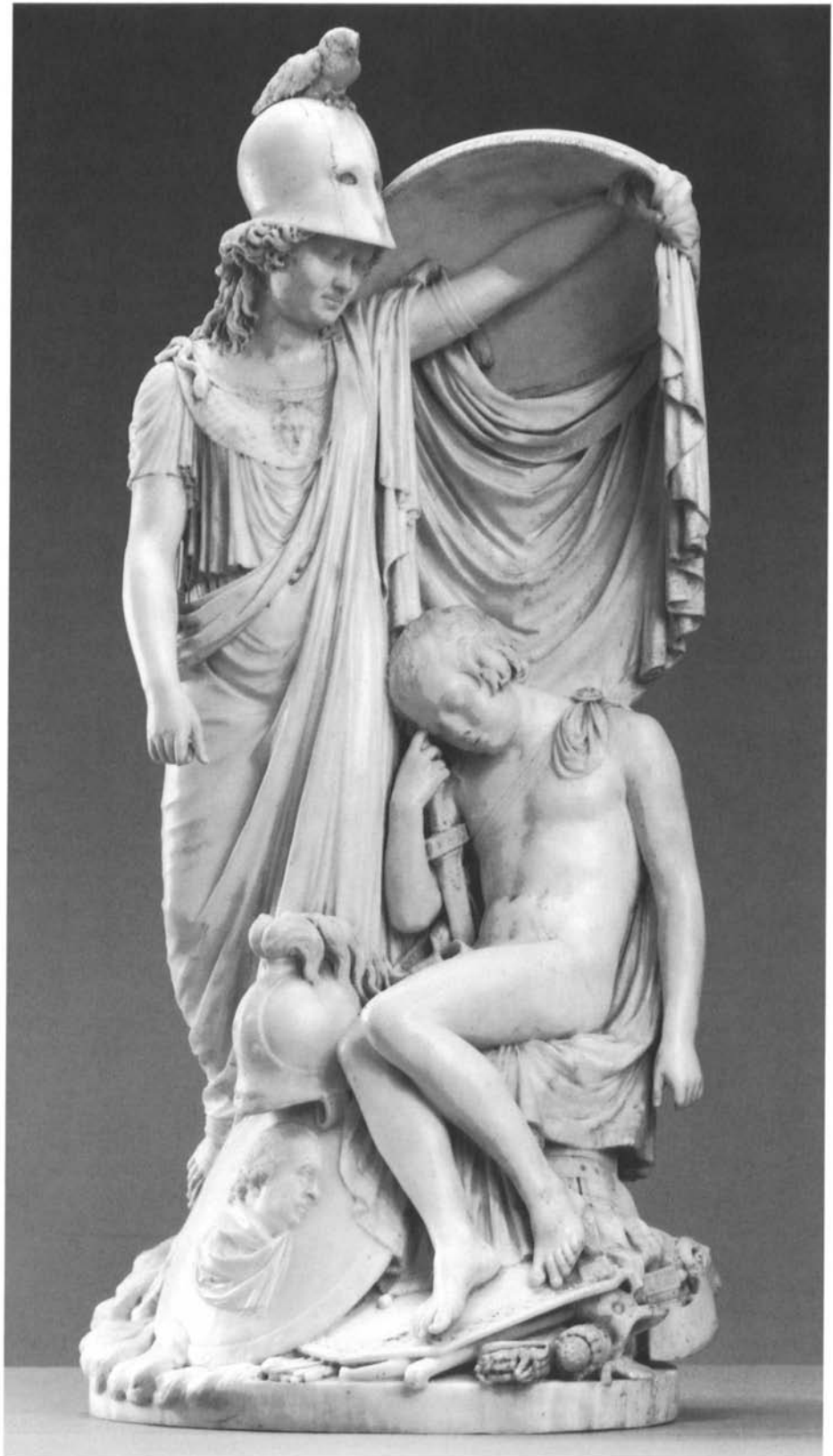
Allegorical Portrait of the van Risamburgh Family, 1790 Marble, H: 112 cm (44 in.). Inscribed: on clouds at base
Chinard 1790.

94.SA.2

This marble group was commissioned as a portrait of the family of Monsieur van Risamburgh, a prominent merchant in the sculptor's native city of Lyons. Madame van Risamburgh appears in the guise of the goddess Minerva, her son is shown as a slumbering boy, and her husband is represented on the shield at her feet. This sculpture is the first family group by Chinard in which the presence of a living but absent father is conveyed by means of a portrait medallion, a device cleverly adopted from traditional tomb monuments. With its highly detailed still life of weaponry, softly modeled anatomy, and elegantly arranged, translucent folds of drapery, the *Van Risamburgh Family* is arguably Chinard's most beautifully carved marble.

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by Monsieur and/or Madame van Risamburgh, Lyons, in 1789; collection of Dr. Ollier, Lyons, by 1896; [Guy Ladrière, Paris].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. S. Passeroy, "Biographies lyonnaises. Joseph Chinard," *Revue du Lyonnais* 1 (June 1835), p. 473; J. Fr. Michaud and L. G. Michaud, eds., *Biographie universelle* (Paris, 1880), 2nd ed., vol. 8, p. 157; S. de la Chapelle, "Joseph Chinard sculpteur. Sa vie et son oeuvre," *Revue du Lyonnais* 2 (1896), pp. 89–90; S. Lami, *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs de l'école française* (Paris, 1910), p. 200; M. Audin and E. Vial, *Dictionnaire des artistes et ouvriers d'art du Lyonnais* (Paris, 1918), vol. 1, p. 190; W. G. Schwark, "Die Porträtwerke Chinards" (Ph.D. diss., Berlin, 1937), p. 68.





97

97. *Pair of Firedogs*

Italian artist working at
Fontainebleau, ca. 1540–45
Bronze, H: 82.5 cm (32½ in.);
W (at base): 41 cm (16 in.)
94.SB.77.1–2

Each of these male and female herms stands on a base composed of a pair of grotesque heads, and each supports a vase containing a salamander, the emblem of François I (r. 1515–47). The fluent handling of anatomy, the inclusion of architectural herm and grotesque motifs, and the decorative use of strapwork strongly suggest that the firedogs were designed by an Italian artist working in the king's château at Fontainebleau. The presence of François I's own device supports a dating sometime before 1547, during the first phase of the château's decoration under Rosso Fiorentino

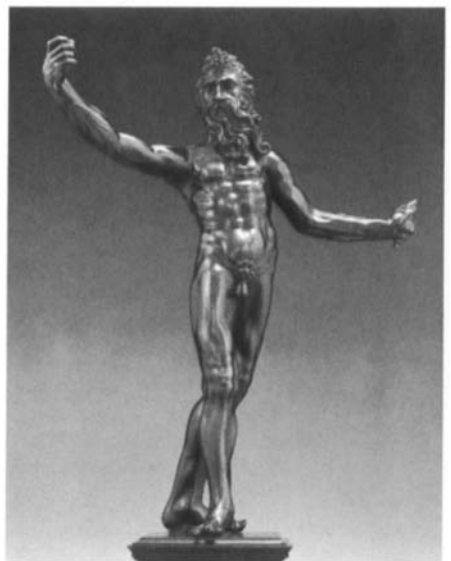
(1494–1540) and Primaticcio (1504–1570). The firedogs were most likely made for a monumental fireplace like the one designed by Primaticcio for the Chamber of the King in 1533–35.

PROVENANCE: Probably the collection of François I, Fontainebleau; Baron Gustave de Rothschild (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 17, 1994, lot 117); [Same Art Inc., Zurich].

98. ATTRIBUTED TO BENEDIKT WURZEL-
BAUER
German, 1548–1620
Neptune, ca. 1600–20
Bronze, H: 62 cm (24½ in.)
94.SB.54

Wurzelbauer's sculptures combine German Renaissance forms with those of European Mannerism, which reached southern Germany during the second half of the sixteenth century. This *Neptune* exhibits a mixture of influences, combining, for example, a rather stylized treatment of the head and rigid curls of hair and beard derived from late Gothic wood sculpture, with Mannered proportions of the nude body probably inspired by an Italian or Netherlandish prototype. As was common in German foundries of the period, the *Neptune* may have been produced from a wood model rather than the more common terra-cotta or wax model of Italian practice. Although it is the only known version of its design, variants of the subject, also attributed to Wurzelbauer, are found in the Henry E. Huntington Art Gallery, San Marino; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; and Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Munich.

PROVENANCE: (Sale, Sotheby's, London, December 13, 1990, lot 119); [Trinity Fine Art Ltd., London].



98

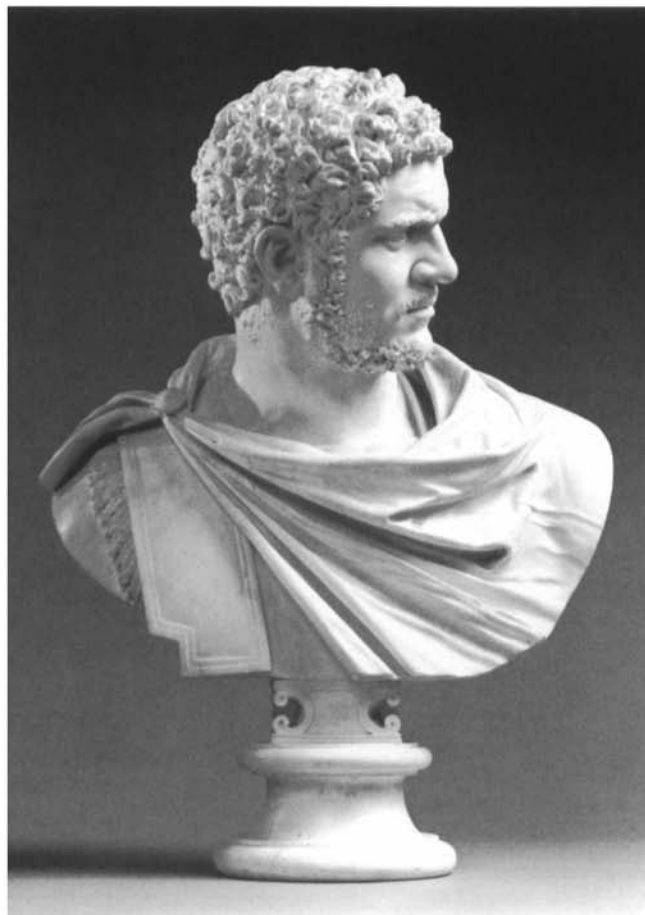


99

99. AFTER GIANLORENZO BERNINI
Italian, 1598–1680
Neptune and Dolphin, ca. 1620–80
Bronze, H: 56 cm (22 in.)
94.SB.45

This work is a reduced variant of Bernini's marble fountain sculpture executed around 1620 for Cardinal Montalto's garden in Rome, which is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. It is the finest in quality of four known bronze versions, all of which replace the Triton of the fountain piece with a dolphin. The other versions are located in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; and the Galleria Borghese, Rome, on loan from the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Rome.

PROVENANCE: [David Peel, London, by 1968]; Adrian Ward-Jackson, London, until 1990, and then by descent to his heirs; [Cyril Humphris, London, since 1994].



100

100. BARTOLOMEO CAVACEPPI
Italian, 1716/17–1799
Bust of the Emperor Caracalla,
ca. 1750–70
Marble, H: 70.5 cm (27¾ in.).
Inscribed: on front *BARTOLOMEOVS CAVACEPPI FECIT*.
94.SA.46

Cavaceppi's marble is a copy of a bust, which by the eighteenth century was considered to be the most famous third-century portrait of the Roman Emperor Caracalla (r. 211–217 A.D.). First recorded

in 1568 as belonging to the Farnese family in Rome, the often replicated prototype is now in the Museo Nazionale, Naples. Known primarily as a bold but ruthless military leader whose brutal acts found favor with the Roman army, Caracalla was a popular portrait subject with eighteenth-century collectors who no doubt appreciated the intense psychological and historical associations evoked by such busts. Signed copies of antique models are rare in Cavaceppi's oeuvre; only one other known copy, the *Bust of the Younger Faustina* in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, bears his signature.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, New York (sale, Sotheby's, New York, June 6, 1994, lot 112); [Daniel Katz, Ltd., London].



101 (.1)

101. BASED ON MODELS BY
GIOVANNI BATTISTA FOGGINI
Italian, 1652–1725;
FINISHED BY GASPERO BRUSCHI
Italian, 1737–1778;
PAINTED IN THE SHOP OF WENDELIN
ANREITER VON ZIRNFELD
Austrian, 1739–1745;
DOCCIA PORCELAIN FACTORY
Italian, 1737–1896
*Mercury and Argus and Perseus
and Medusa*, ca. 1749
Soft paste porcelain, polychrome and
parcel gilt; 34.5 x 34 x 20.1 cm (13 $\frac{5}{8}$ x
13 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 8 in.) and 35 x 29 x 20.1 cm
(13 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 8 in.), respectively.
94.SE.76.1–.2

These groups were intended to serve as candelabra, possibly as part of a table centerpiece ensemble. Their compositions are based on episodes in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and were first created as models for bronzes by Giovanni Battista Foggini. After Foggini's death in 1725, many of his piece-molds were inherited by his son, Vincenzo, who frequently cast wax and plaster models from them for the production of figures at the Doccia Porcelain Factory. Archival documents at Doccia mention payments made to the younger Foggini for the wax models of these groups and for the molds taken from them, and the molds and a wax of the *Mercury* group are still preserved in the collection of the Doccia factory. A bronze version of the *Mercury* group is in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, and another was formerly on



101 (.2)

the Paris art market; a bronze version of the *Perseus* group is in the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, England; [Daniel Katz, London]; [Alain Moatti, Paris].

102. ATTRIBUTED TO GIANFRANCESCO SUSINI
Italian, ca. 1575–1653
AFTER MODELS BY GIAMBologna
Flemish (active Italy), 1529–1608
Lion Attacking a Horse and *Lion
Attacking a Bull*, 1600–25
Bronze, H: 24.2 cm (9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.) and
20.7 cm (8 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.), respectively.
94.SB.11.1–.2



102 (.1)

Although the composition of the *Lion Attacking a Horse* derives from an antique prototype, its design and that of its pendant have been attributed to Giambologna since the seventeenth century. Documents establish that models from these groups were cast by one of Giambologna's closest collaborators, Antonio Susini (documented 1580–1624), and his nephew Gianfrancesco. Moreover, the extraordinarily high quality of these casts—among the numerous versions of varying quality that survive of Giambologna's compositions—supports the association of these bronzes with the two Susini. Unsigned, they are attributed to Gianfrancesco since he, unlike his uncle, did not sign casts of models by another artist, such as Giambologna.

PROVENANCE: Beauvais collection, England (sale, collection of Mr. Beauvais, March 2, 1738/39); Sir Jacob des Bouverie, Bart., Longford Castle near Salisbury, Wiltshire; by descent to the eighth Earl of Radnor (sale, Christie's, London, December 7, 1993, lot 108); [Cyril Humphris, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. T., "Handel und Auktionen," *Kunst und Antiquitäten*, no. 12 (1993), p. 61; "Giambolognas Give Christie's a Small Edge," *The Art Newspaper*, no. 34 (January 1994), p. 26.



102 (.2)

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